

## DAVID, JESUS SON OF DAVID AND SON OF MAN

BY

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In I & II Samuel David the shepherd lad with a liking for making music and song is anointed<sup>1</sup> by Samuel as Saul's successor. His musical flair gains him Saul's favour.<sup>2</sup> His killing of the giant Goliath and his subsequent popularity brings Saul's disfavour<sup>3</sup> but leads to David developing into David the professional<sup>4</sup> warrior and then<sup>5</sup> King of Judah and eventually King of united Israel.<sup>6</sup> While he is a man after Yahweh's heart, he does not devote his life to religion<sup>7</sup> nor even to keeping the Ten<sup>8</sup> Commandments.

In II Chronicles we see a different David portrayed.<sup>9</sup> His very human failings allowed to be displayed in II Sam. are tempered. His delight in battle is faded out. While he cannot even here build the Temple in Jerusalem, David sets up its administration in considerable detail. The inditer of Song now becomes a Psalmist<sup>10</sup> and establishes

<sup>1</sup> On Samuel anointing David the Spirit of the Lord came upon David from that day forward, so 1 Sam 16:13. The consequence was as 1 Sam. 16:14 states: But the Spirit of the LORD departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the LORD troubled him.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. 16:22, 23.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 1 Sam. 18:9, 10, 11, 12.

<sup>4</sup> (Saul) 'made him his captain over a thousand' 1 Sam. 18:13. See also 1 Sam. 18:27 et al.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Sam. 2:4, 7.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Sam. 5:3.

<sup>7</sup> On the other hand it all depends on what one means by religion. From his anointing he had the Spirit of God, and he was in consequence a mighty warrior who in fighting the enemies of Israel was fighting the enemies of God. The concept of the Holy War is as old as Joshua. But to further his own cause he could fight alongside the Philistines of 1 Sam. 27:2ff.

<sup>8</sup> Certainly not: 'Thou shalt not commit adultery'. Cf. 2 Sam. 11:2, 3, 4.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. e.g. how there is no mention of the Bath Sheba seduction in Chronicles; nor is there any direct mention of the bitter struggle between Saul and David: only the final battle with the Philistines in which Jonathan was slain by the Philistines 1 Chron. 10:2 and Saul fell on his sword 1 Chron. 10:4 is highlighted.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. 1 Chron. 23:3, 4, 5 the numbering of the Levites and assigning them their duties in connection with the House of the LORD and with the musical instruments which David claimed to have made. In 1 Chron. 23:30 part of their duties was to stand every morning to thank and praise the LORD and likewise at even. In 1 Chron. 16:4 David appointed some Levites to minister before the ark of the LORD

the place of Psalmody in the future Temple. The Chronicles being post-Ezra and belonging to the post-exilic theocracy under the Torah sees his David as a devout king upholding God's Torah.

In and through the Psalms the devoutness of David is especially enhanced far beyond what we find in II Chronicles. Although seventy three psalms are in their titles ascribed to David, no psalm can with any certainty be accepted as actually by David. Some of the psalms with Davidic inscription have a further note<sup>11</sup> appended detailing when David indited them in eluding Saul or fighting against the Philistines etc. These psalm titles reflect the attitude to David in Midrash and Haggadah.

In Rabbinic Judaism the saintliness of David is fully established. Already in Chronicles he was<sup>12</sup> not only King, but with his lyre and psalms is prophet, priest and king. Now his lyre<sup>13</sup> strings, made from the sinews of the ram caught in the thicket as a substitute for the sacrifice of Isaac, sound in the night not only to arouse David from slumber to recite further psalms, but to continue his study of the Torah<sup>14</sup> and Talmud. In fact when he came to die the<sup>15</sup> Angel of Death only succeeded by first diverting David's attention from the

and to record, and to thank and praise the LORD God of Israel. 1 Chron. 16:7 is important as associating the institution of such levitical services with the day when David had the ark returned to Jerusalem. That verse states that on that day David delivered first psalm 105:1-15, to thank the LORD, into the hand of Asaph and his brethren.

<sup>11</sup> Pss. 3,7,18,30,34,51,54,56,57,59,60 have notes affixed to the Davidic ascription. These notes refer in the main to incidents in the life of David while Saul was still king, though the note on Ps. 3 gives us the occasion for it as David's fleeing from Absalom. The note to Ps. 51 is Nathan the prophet coming to upbraid David on his adultery with Bath Sheba.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. 1 Chron. 25:1,2. Notice how the levitical musicians prophesy with harps, with psalteries and with cymbals. "The sons of Asaph v. 2 "prophesied according to the order of the King". But the psalms of David could be *the* prophesy; cf. 1 Chron. 16:7. As an anointed king he had the Spirit of the LORD: 1 Sam. 16:13. In addition to being a prophet he was priest too: cf. 1 Chron. 16:2 "And when David had made an end of offering the burnt offerings and peace offering he blessed the people in the name of the LORD." It was after that that he established the courses of the Levites and the priests.

<sup>13</sup> See PRE XXXI Friedlander, Kegan Paul, London 1916, p. 229. R. Hanina ben Dosa said "The sinews of the ram were the strings of the harp whereon David played".

<sup>14</sup> A harp used to be suspended over David's couch which played by itself every midnight, in consequence of a north wind blowing upon it. This was the signal for him to rise and engage in the study of the Torah till dawn. See T.B. Ber. 3b and P.T. Ber. 1.2d. David spent most of the night in study of Torah and prayer so that "sixty breaths of sleep" was all he needed: T.B. Suk. 26b.

<sup>15</sup> See T.B. Shab. 30a and b.

study of Torah for an instant. The Biblical David<sup>16</sup> on his father Jesse's side was of aristocratic descent in Judah. But in the rabbinic midrash he was a descendant of Miriam,<sup>17</sup> Moses' sister. David therefore has levitical descent.

David lived seventy years, and these years were allotted to him at Adam's<sup>18</sup> direct behest when the souls of Israel passed before Adam in Eden. Hearing of David having been given only a few months of life, Adam requested God to deduct 70 from the 1000 years originally granted to Adam. In the Midrash David is without sin at all.<sup>19</sup> Like Adam he had been circumcised.<sup>20</sup> The seduction of Bath Sheba by David is explained away in various talmudic ways.<sup>21</sup> Uriah could have divorced her, as one Midrash<sup>22</sup> suggests was the practice when men went to war. Another haggadic midrash<sup>23</sup> has David claiming that God should be called the God of David not of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. They had been tempted and sinned; he David had

<sup>16</sup> See Ruth 4:18-22, but his greatgrandmother was a Moabitess Ruth 4:13.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Sifre Num. 78 (Friedmann edition), p. 20b. See PRE XLV Friedlander, op. cit., p. 353. He was also related to the Judges Ibzan and Othniel: see T.B. B.B. 91a. If so it would be through Hur the son of Miriam. There seems to have been a view that David was a descendant of Miriam. This was based on identifying Miriam with Ephrath who is mentioned in I Chron. 2:19 as wife of Caleb and I Sam. 17:12 "and David was the son of the Ephrathite" meaning Miriam. PRE however interprets Ben ish eprathi as nobleman = palatinus; see Friedlander, *ibid.*, note 4.

<sup>18</sup> See PRE XIX Friedlander, op. cit., p. 128 "and he showed me (i.e. Adam) David (Friedlander's note i.e. the Messiah), the son of Jesse, and his dominion in the future that is to come (Friedlander's note: — The Messianic Kingdom). I took from my years seventy years and added them to his days and cited 'Thou wilt add days to the days of the King; his years shall be as many generations'" Ps. 61:6. Incidentally PRE has Adam commenting on Ps. 92: see Friedlander, *ibid.*, pp. 126-133.

<sup>19</sup> See T.B. B.B. 17a. The evil nature (*yetzer ha-ra*) has no dominion over Abraham, Isaac and Jacob — also David because it is said of him Ps. 109:22 "and my heart" i.e. evil nature/*yetzer ha-ra* is slain (A.V. wounded but *halal* can mean fatally wounded) within me".

<sup>20</sup> See Aboth d'Rabbi Nathan 2 cf. *The Fathers according to Rabbi Nathan* translated from the Hebrew by Judah Goldin, Yale Judaica Series X, New Haven, Y.U.P. 1955, p. 23. 'David too was born circumcised for it is said. Michtam of David keep me, O God; for I have taken refuge in Thee Ps. 16:1. 'So too were Adam, Job, Seth, Noah, Shem, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Balaam, Jeremiah and Zerubbabel according to Rabbi Nathan *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> e.g. to show the power of repentance. T.B. Ab.Zar. 4b, 5a.

<sup>22</sup> See T.B. Shab. 56a — also T.B. Kid 43a. So David should not be blamed for the death of Uriah.

<sup>23</sup> See T.B. Sanh. 107a God sends Satan in a bird shape. David aims an arrow at the bird but misses. Bath Sheba is startled and disclosed to the king's view. David is instantly enamoured of her.

only sinned inadvertently. It is claimed that the whole affair was so that David had an opportunity to learn repentance.<sup>24</sup> Judaism would have agreed with Jesus that there is more joy in heaven over one sinner that repents than over 99 righteous<sup>25</sup>, for Judaism regarded the sinner who had repented as more meritorious than the righteous<sup>26</sup> man who had no need to repent. The rabbinic picture of David sees him as the great deliverer and unifier of Israel and Israel's greatest king but like the Chronicler is more interested in David in his impact on Israel's religion<sup>27</sup> and his relation thereto. Rabbinic sources

<sup>24</sup> See T.B. Sanh. 107a "David pleaded before the Holy One, Blessed be He (Ps. 19:12,13) "Who can perceive inadvertent transgressions?" They are remitted unto thee, was the answer. "Cleanse thou me from secret sins'. They are remitted unto thee. "Keep back thy servant also from presumptuous sin". Granted. "Let them not be made a parable for instruction. Then shall I be perfect" when the Rabbis do not discuss them; and I shall be clean from the great transgression" (in the matter of Bath Sheba), if it be not recorded in Scripture. That is impossible was God's reply. The letter Yod, which I took away from Sarai (שרי), when her name was changed in Sarah (שרה) kept on complaining at the time, till I added it to Joshua (יהושע) Num. 13:16, how much greater will be the complaint, when a whole chapter is omitted". Forgive me then, that iniquity altogether, he continued to plead. No, was the answer. Long ago it was appointed, for thy son Solomon to declare in his wisdom (Prov. 6: 27-29: "Can a man take fire in his bosom and his clothes not be burned? Can one go upon hot coals, and his feet not be burned? So he that goeth into his neighbour's wife, whosoever touches her shall not go unpunished". Am I then cast out altogether? he asked. Submit to chastisement, was the advice. He did so, and for the space of six months he was smitten with leprosy when the Shechinah departed from him, and he was deserted by the Sanhedrin; for it is said Ps. 51:7: "Purge me with hyssop (prescribed for the purification of lepers) and I shall be clean; wash me and I shall be whiter than snow". It is also written (Ps. 51:12): "Restore unto me the joy of salvation, and uphold me with thy free spirit". And further (Ps. 119:79: "Let those that fear thee (the Sanhedrin) return unto me". (translation by A.A. Hershon in *Genesis with a Talmudical Commentary*. Bagster, London 1883, p. 344. Ps. 119:79 is quoted since "return" *shub* for the talmudic haggadist implies *teshubah* repentance. The above talmudic excerpt is interesting on several points: firstly as illustrating the rabbinic attitude to Scripture and the Psalms in particular and secondly as seeing David in a rabbinic setting.

<sup>25</sup> Lk. 15.7.

<sup>26</sup> "The Significance of Teshubah", see my article in *Abr-Nahrain*, 15 (1974-1975), 27-34, esp. p. 29.

<sup>27</sup> T.B. Sanh. 93b and Josephus, *Antiquities* VI. VIII. 2 stress the significance of David being anointed King at the hands of Samuel, 1 Sam 16:13. From then on he had spiritual gifts including prophecy. Since God was with him miracles wrought by God on behalf of David are supplied in the Midrash, cf. e.g. Midrash Samuel XXI re David and Goliath, and Midrash Psalms ad Ps. 18 on David's flight from Saul. David in Midrash and Talmud makes Torah central. He is as it were the pattern for the Messiah who will reaffirm the proper centrality of the Torah. So scrupulous was David that proper methods had to be used to nullify the covenants that Abraham, Isaac and Jacob had each made with the Jebusites of Jerusalem, the Philistines and the Edomites respectively before entering their territory. See PRE



establish David as the psalmist. The Psalms are David's book<sup>28</sup>. True in one place it is admitted that he took earlier psalms by worthies of the past, Adam, Melchizedek etc. and incorporated them with his own Psalms. No one in Jesus' lifetime would have quibbled about his ascribing Ps. 110 to David. The Psalms had become so central<sup>29</sup> in Jewish Temple worship that David is their reputed author under divine revelation as their canonicity implies, and he was considered as occupying the middle point in Jewish religious history between<sup>30</sup> Adam and the Messiah. There is the midrashic statement<sup>31</sup> which

XXXVI, Friedlander, pp. 275-280. E.g., op. cit., p. 280 "When David reigned, he wished to come into the land of Edom, but he was unable on account of the power of the covenant of Jacob's oath until he had broken that pillar (cf. Gen. 31:46). Concerning this Moses said: "And break in pieces their pillars". (Ex. 23:24). Afterwards he conquered the land of Edom, as it is said, "David smote also Hadadezer the son of Rehob, King of Zobah, as he went to recover his dominion at the river (Euphrates)" (2 Sam. 8:3) where no such scruples are mentioned.

<sup>28</sup> Midrash Psalms on Ps. 1 (see W.G. Braude: *The Midrash on Psalms* Vol. 1, Yale Judaica Vol. XIII I, Y.U.P. New Haven, 1959, p. 10: "R. Huna said in the name of R. Aha: 'Though certain Psalms bear the name of one of the ten authors, the book as a whole bears the name of David, King of Israel'. See also T.B. B.B. 15a where the ten are named as Adam, Moses, Asaph, Heman, Abraham, Geduthun, Melchizedek and the three sons of Korah. In T.B. B.B. 14b the list is slightly different: Adam, Moses, Asaph, Heman, Abraham, Geduthun, David, Solomon, the three sons of Korah (counted as one) and Ezra. However, Midrash Psalms on Ps. 1 (see W.G. Braude, op. cit., p. 5: "As Moses gave five books of laws to Israel so David gave five books of Psalms to Israel").

<sup>29</sup> See e.g. M. Tamid 7: 4 where the proper psalm for each day of the week is detailed. On the first day (Sunday) Ps. 24; on the second day Ps. 48; on the third day Ps. 82; on the fourth Ps. 94; on the fifth Ps. 81; on the sixth Ps. 93 and on the Sabbath Ps. 92. On each of the Festivals there was a proper Psalm.

<sup>30</sup> This may seem strange. One might have been expected to write Moses and the Messiah. But no. In rabbinic thought the Torah existed before Moses. In fact the midrash held that the Torah existed before Creation. In Midrash PRE ch. XII (Friedlander op. cit. p. 85) the Torah was in Eden as of course was Adam (PRE ibid.) "And (Adam) was at his leisure in the garden of Eden like one of the ministering angels". Further (see PRE XII, Friedlander op. cit., p. 76) we read: "The Holy One, blessed be He, spake to the Torah: 'Let us make men in our image, after our likeness'".

<sup>31</sup> See J.A. Eisenmenger, *Entdeckten Judentums*, Königsberg 1711, Vol. II, p. 25, which cites *Nischmath Chayim* fol. 152, col. 2. See also ibid., pp. 730-31 citing Elijah's Levita's *Tischbi* fol. 16 col. 2. This acronym was used by cabalists of the Luria School. See J.E., Vol. XII, article Transmigration of Souls, p. 233. According to Gershom Scholem in his *Ursprung und Anfänge der Kabbala* (Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 1962), p. 406, "Nachmanides zuerst herausgegeben von nachweisbaren Erklärung des Namens Adam als Abkürzung (ADaM) der drei Existenzformen dieser Seele in Adam, David und dem Messias". But the haggadic midrash PRE XVIII Friedlander, op. cit., p. 128, about Adam giving 70 years of his life to David testifies to the lumping together of Adam, David and the Messiah and is long before these sources.

takes the name Adam as an acronym for Adam, David, Messiah in that order; and it teaches that there was one and the same soul in Adam, then ages on in David and much later again in the Messiah. Remember too that Adam was in the eyes of some editor of the Psalter a Psalmist too with several psalms:<sup>32</sup> see the relevant psalm titles. Certainly Adam's Ps. 92 is still the Sabbath psalm in Jewish worship.

David died, but he sits in heaven<sup>33</sup> on a throne directly opposite God. At the great Messianic feast he alone is regarded as worthy because of his blameless life to say the Blessing<sup>34</sup>, and it is David who by evoking Amen from those in Hell ensures by the mercy of God their deliverance from there. There is in Midrash Psalms, Ps. 107:2, the statement that they are not the redeemed of Elijah, nor are they the redeemed of the Messiah. They are the redeemed of God.

In the Synoptic Gospels, Matthew in particular, the relation between Jesus the Messiah and David is stressed, cf. especially Mt. 1:17. The Matthean form of Jesus' genealogy stresses Jesus' direct descent from David. It is the royal descent. Nathan's declaration<sup>35</sup> to David of Yahweh's promise of perpetual kingship to David's line was an important factor in the growth of the messianic concept<sup>36</sup> after there was no Davidic king in Jerusalem (i.e. post 586 B.C.). While the Lucan<sup>37</sup> genealogy goes back to Adam, not just to Abraham (with whom was the covenant of circumcision). One remembers the acronym: Adm—Adam, David, Messiah. We note in passing that Luke's genealogy makes Jesus descendant of both

<sup>32</sup> The Psalms are Ps. 5, Ps. 19, Ps. 24 and Ps. 92. Note that in the Hebrew Bible Ps. 5, 19 and 24 are ascribed to David. In Midrash Psalms on Ps. 5. R. Samuel taught: "There are four psalms which one would have expected Adam to compose, but which David composed", and then cites the aforementioned psalms. See W.G. Braude, *The Midrash on Psalms*, Vol. 1, p. 84. Pes. R. 46:1 end (see W.G. Braude, *Pesikta Rabbati*, Y.U.P., New Haven, vol. 2, p. 790) holds that Adam composed Psalm 92 and that it was Moses "who gave this psalm its heading made up of words which give an acrostic of his, Moses' name".

<sup>33</sup> See A. Jellinek: *Beth ha-Midrash*, VI 25,26.

<sup>34</sup> See T.B. Pes. 119b and A. Jellinek B.H. V 45,46.

<sup>35</sup> 2 Sam. 7: 12-16.

<sup>36</sup> Son of David is a recognised rabbinic term for the Messiah. See PRE XVIII, Friedlander, op. cit., p. 132 and PRE XXX, Friedlander, p. 222. In view of this the invocation of Jesus as "Son of David" Mt. 9:27; 12:23; 15:22; 20:30; 20:31; 21:9; 21:15; 22:42 has clearly messianic significance. Note that in Luke and Mark there are in each only two instances of this: Mk. 10: 47; 10:48; Lk. 18:38; 18:39.

<sup>37</sup> Lk. 3: 23-38.

Enoch<sup>38</sup> and Adam. In rabbinic sources Enoch after his translation is identified as Metatron<sup>39</sup> the angelic being in whom is Yahweh's name.<sup>40</sup>

In Luke's Gospel as in Matthew's and Mark's also, people call Jesus Son of David; nor does Jesus when so addressed deny that he is. Now Son of David in rabbinic sources<sup>41</sup> is the common name for the Messiah. Jesus, however in these same Gospels, and twice in John's Gospel calls himself Son of Man. The term also occurs in Acts 7:56 in the mouth of Stephen. The term Son of Man has two senses. It can mean "a man", cf. *bar nash* in the Syriac Peshitta; but this is not in the Gospels its only sense; see John 1:51 and Lk. 22:69, cf. v 67 where a Messianic connotation<sup>42</sup> is not to be ruled out. Cf. in particular Acts 7:56 where the Son of Man (Syr. *bar nash*) is the exalted Jesus beside God. In Dan. 7:13 we have the heavenly Son of Man *bar enash* who comes in the clouds (*Anane*). In fact Anani<sup>43</sup> is one of the rabbinic names of the Messiah. Here we have actually an identification of the Danielic Son of Man with the Messiah even though his individual name is taken from his method of arrival (in the clouds).

In Enoch we have mention of a Son of Man<sup>44</sup> reminiscent of that

<sup>38</sup> Enoch, Lk. 3:37; Adam, Lk. 3:38.

<sup>39</sup> Targ. Ps. Jon on Gen. 5:24: "And Enoch served in the truth before the LORD; and behold he was not with the sojourners of the earth; for he was withdrawn, and he ascended to the firmament by the Word before the LORD, and his name was called Metatron the Great Saphra (Scribe)".

<sup>40</sup> Metatron is identified with the Angel of the Lord sent before Israel in the Wilderness (Ex 23:20), in whom (v. 21) is the LORD's name. On this see *J.E.*, vol. VIII, p. 519. Rashi commenting on Ex. 23:21 "For My name is in him", says, claiming ancient rabbinic traditions, that the angel there spoken of is Metatron, who is called by the name of his RABBI. He notes, however, that Metatron has the same numerical value as Shaddai, Almighty, 314; see P.A. Hershon, *Genesis with a Talmudic Commentary*, p. 23, note g. In T.B. Sanh. 38b Metatron is he "whose name is like his master's".

<sup>41</sup> See footnote 36 above.

<sup>42</sup> Jn. 1:49 where Nathaniel says "thou art the Son of God; thou art the King of Israel", both of which designations apply to the Davidic Messiah, cf. 2 Sam 7:14 "I will be his father, and he shall be my son". In Ex. 4:22 Moses is to say to Pharaoh: "Thus says the LORD, Israel is my son, my firstborn". Jesus' rejoinder, while not denying Nathaniel's statement, sets the Son of Man in a heavenly context.

<sup>43</sup> Midrash Tanhuma, par. Toledoth 14.

<sup>44</sup> See my article "The Background of the Term 'Son of Man', *Expository Times*, 59, (1947-1948), 148, 283-288. For an exhaustive bibliography and good summary of writing on the Son of Man, see Mogens Müller: *Der Ausdruck "Menschensohn" in den Evangelien*, Brill, Leiden 1984. For English readers there is Prof. Barnabas Lindars'

in Dn. 7 and who in Enoch 48:2,10 is identified with the Messiah. However in IV Ezra 3 instead of a heavenly Son of Man we have the heavenly Man from the Sea who is also associated with the clouds; cf. Dn. 7:13. If Son of Man can just mean man, what is there to prevent us from identifying a heavenly Man with a heavenly Son of Man? The term 'Son of Man' is not wanting altogether in Jewish haggadah. One high priest<sup>45</sup> saw one old man when he went in to

important recent study: *Jesus Son of Man*, SPCK Alden Press, Oxford 1983. True, Lindars specifically sets out to emphasise the evidence as he sees it for Jesus using the term 'son of man' as a designation of himself as a specific human being: see p. 19. But even so he has to admit that in a source as early as Q the term is being reinterpreted in the Danielic sense: see Lindars, *op. cit.* "The Future Son of Man in Q", pp. 85-100.

E.A. Abbott's works, though dated, repay study, e.g. *The Message of the Son of Man*, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1909: see esp. Preface XVIII and p. 33.

<sup>45</sup> Simeon the Just, PT Yoma 5.42 (Krotoschin edition). Simeon saw an Old One in white and veiled in white. R. Abbahu commenting on this asks rhetorically: "Who tells me that he was *bar nash*? I say it was the Holy One Blessed be He (God) Himself". R. Abbahu cites Lev. 16:17 that no man (*Adam*) shall be in the Tent of Meeting etc. He significantly rules out too the angelic creatures surrounding the Chariot in Ezk. 1:10 the likeness of whose face was the face of a man. However, R. Abbahu seems to include even the *hayyoth* surrounding the throne as within the category of *bar nash*. This could have interesting consequences for the identification of one like Adam who dominates the throne chariot. Was it the appearance of a man or Adam? After all in Pesikta Rabbati XVIII:2, (*op. cit.*), p. 679, it is stated: "The Holy One Blessed be He will appoint for the Messiah the four creatures who will carry the Messiah's throne of glory". Braude's note 9 ad loc. is: "The Messiah is thus given an earthly counterpart of God's chariot; see Ezek. 1". It could be that R. Abbahu was not in favour of the study of the Ma'aseh Merkabah. See P.T. Ta'an 2.1. Dn. 7:13 mentions the Ancient of Days. Little is there said to suggest human form. But the *zaken* that High Priest Simeon saw, need not spell out a Being in human form anymore than *Atik* does. In both cases it was ancient; what is stressed is the quality of being ancient. In P.T. Ta'an 2.1 (Krot. Ed.) R. Abbahu says if a man (Adam) says to you 'I am God', he lies; (if he says 'Son of Man' (Ben Adam) he will finally repent it; (if he says) 'I ascend to heaven', he will not do it (not achieve what he promises). He is referring obliquely perhaps to Jesus and basing himself on Num. 23:19 which was directed against Balaam. Targ. Ps. Jon. translates *Ben Adam* of Num. 23:19 by *bar nash*. See J. Bowman, *art. cit.* (n. 44 above) p. 285. There evidence is cited from Geniza fragments for *bar nash* in early Palestinian Aramaic as equivalent to Heb. *ben adam*. In 1948 in the abovementioned article (p. 285) I wrote "One cannot argue that because Abbahu said Ben Adam". That Jesus called himself Ben Adam". While it is true that Abbahu was taking part in a discussion where this verse Num. 23:19 had already been cited, he may have Jesus in mind because of the claim to ascend to heaven; but this may be a swipe at the *yorde merkabah* the mystics of his own community. However, Ben Adam here may hardly carry the plain meaning as in the Hebrew text of Num. 23:19. In P.T. Ta'an 2.1 the question is raised why Ben Adam and not Ben Amram (Moses). N.B. when Num. 23:19 had Ish and Ben Adam, Abbahu has *Adam* and Ben Adam. Abbahu's statement could mean: if Adam says he is God he lies, 'I am son of Adam', He will repent. This could point to condemnation by him of overglorification of Adam.

the Holy of Holies. No ordinary human being, not even an ordinary priest could enter there. None but the High Priest could enter, and that but once a year. Whom did the High Priest see? R. Abbahu commenting on this said: "Who tells me that it was *bar nash* I say it was the Holy One Himself". Under *bar nash* Abbahu specifically includes the *hayyoth* whose faces were like a man. If so could it be that the being Ezekiel saw in his Merkabah vision of one in form and appearance of a man or Adam, was *bar nash* also.

I do not think, however, that one should rule out the possibility that Jesus in his use of the title Son of Man as describing himself was referring to himself as Son of Adam. But if so it would not mean that the late Prof. Duncan<sup>46</sup> was right in sternly dismissing and discounting the eschatological significance of the term Son of Man as having been used by Jesus, and concentrating solely on what was to him the plain sense of that term by which the prophet Ezekiel was addressed from the Chariot Throne.

For Jews Adam had significance. But what Adam? There is the Jewish view that the First Adam the *Adam Rishon* or *Kadmon*<sup>47</sup> assisted God in Creation. This view is comparable to what is claimed elsewhere for Wisdom,<sup>48</sup> the Torah, the Memra and the Logos in Creation.

Those who held that Adam was active in Creation were not unaware that Adam was according to Scripture created by God on the sixth day. But they maintained that it was the spirit of Adam that brooded on the waters (Gen. 1:2) just as similarly the Samaritan Malef equated the spirit and Moses.<sup>49</sup>

Adam<sup>50</sup> in Eden was a gleaming figure of light in the likeness of

Note *J.E.*, vol. 1, art. Abbahu, p. 57 (he disputes with *goyim* on Adam); Yalkut Gen. 47; and on Enoch Gen. R. 25.

<sup>46</sup> *Jesus, Son of Man* by George S. Duncan, Nisbet, London, 1947, ch.xi "The Son of Man", esp. p. 130. See also p. 135, 136.

<sup>47</sup> Gen. R. 2.4 in Theodor's edition identified the Spirit of God not with the spirit of the Messiah, but with the spirit of Adam. In Midrash Psalms Ps. 139:5 it is also the spirit of Adam that broods on the face of the (primeval) waters.

<sup>48</sup> Targum Yerushalmi Gen. 1:1: "By Wisdom the Lord created"; cf. Prov. 8:22, 23. "God held counsel with the Torah at the creation of the World, since it was wisdom itself" (Tan. Bereshith); see *J.E.*, Vol. XII, art. Torah, p. 197. Ps. 33:6 "By the word of the LORD the heavens were made". In reference to this, Midrash Mekhilta Beshallah 10 states that He created the world by the Ma'amar, the Hebrew equivalent of Aramaic Memra.

<sup>49</sup> See *Abr-Nahrain*, 20 (1981-82), 3.

<sup>50</sup> He was of extreme beauty and sunlike brightness: T.B., B.B. 58a. Cf. PRE XI, p. 79: "What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He breathed with the breath of

God.<sup>51</sup> Elsewhere we learn that the spirit of Adam, who assisted in Creation was given to Adam, who was created and placed in the Paradise of Eden. This spirit remained in Adam before his rebellion against God's commandment. It then returned to under the throne of God. This same spirit was in Seth and Enoch. *Neshamah* 'breath' (cf. Gen. 2:7) seems to describe this spirit. This spirit, the breath of life, was in David and in the Messiah.<sup>52</sup> The phrase *Toledoth Adam* "generations of Adam" midrashically refers to this spirit, the spirit which was in Adam Rishon. There is clear distinction made between Adam before Creation and up to the Fall, and Adam thereafter. Even his body is diminished. Adam pre-Fall was a being that extended from eastern to western horizons. He lost his garment of light and

the soul of His mouth, and a soul was cast into him, as it is said, 'and he breathed into his nostrils the breath of life' (Gen. 2:7)". This Midrash goes on to tell how Adam "stood on his feet and was adorned with the Divine Image". So much so that creatures feared him and thought that Adam was their Creator. Adam rejects their worship and directs their worship and acclaim to God whom he Adam had already acclaimed immediately after receiving the breath of life; and standing up he had seen all the creatures which God had created, and praised and glorified their Creator in the words of Ps. 104:24: "O LORD, how manifold are thy works". Now Adam with all the creatures acclaim their Creator as King in the words of Ps. 93:1 "The Lord... he is apparelled with majesty".

<sup>51</sup> After the Fall Adam changed in body and spirit, see T.B. Hag. 12a "El'azar said: 'The first man extended from earth to the firmament, for it is said (Dt. 4:32) "from the day God created man upon the earth", and inasmuch as he sinned, the Holy One, blessed be He, placed his hand upon him and made him small, as it is said: "Thou hast fashioned me after and before and laid thine hand upon me" (Ps. 139:5)'. R. El'azar (see Midrash Psalms on Ps. 139:5) said *ahor* (after) in relation to the *ma'aseh* (work) of the first day but *Kedem* before in relation to the *ma'aseh* of the last day". R. El'azar explains next Gen. 1:24 'Let the earth bring forth a living soul' that this is the spirit *ruah* of Adam ha-Rishon the First Adam. But Resh Laqish cites Gen. 1:2 "And the Spirit of God hovered on the face of the waters" and claims that this is the spirit of Adam ha-Rishon. In Gen. 1:11 and 24 the command to the earth to bring forth is vegetable and animal respectively.

<sup>52</sup> Adam, so P.T. Shab. ii 5b, was the light of the world as it is said "the light of God is the breath of Adam". Eisenmenger, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 9, states: "In the Book *Nischmath Adam* Rabbi Aharon Schmucl writes: the soul is part of God from above". This he seems to base on God's breath of life given to Adam in Eden. Eisenmenger, op. cit. p. 22, is aware that Yalkut Hadash fol. 95, col. 1, states that Adam's soul was a lordly soul taken from under the Throne of Glory. It, however, left him when he sinned, but Adam's soul was later in Enoch. Eisenmenger, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 25, quotes from *Nischmath Chayim*, fol. 152, col. 2, that the consonantal letters of the word אדם A.D.M. are the first letters of Adam, David, Messiah. After Adam's sin the soul which was originally given him is passed on in David. But after David sinned in the matter of Uriah, his soul comes in the Messiah. See also Eisenmenger, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 730,731.

got naked skin instead (cf. R. Meir).<sup>53</sup> However, the Spirit in Adam Rishon was no longer in sinful man. But his spirit was in David and would be in the Messiah. One is reminded of PRE<sup>54</sup> and the identity of Phinehas and Elijah as if Elijah were Phinehas. There is too the later Jewish development of *gilgulim*<sup>55</sup> of souls. But already we find in the Clementine Homilies<sup>56</sup> as to how the Messiah appears in

<sup>53</sup> But see Gen. 3:21: for Adam also and for his wife did the LORD God make coats of skin and clothed them. Friedlander, op. cit., p. 14, notes that 2nd ed. (Venice, 1544) of PRE includes among eight things created on the second day: garments (i.e. for Adam and Eve). PRE XX, Friedlander, op. cit. p. 144, Rabbi Eliezer said: "From the skin which the serpent sloughed off, the Holy One, blessed be He, took and made coats of glory for Adam and his wife". In Midrash Gen. Rabba XX 12 we learn that the Torah scroll of Rabbi Meir had the reading, coats of light אור instead of skin עור as in M.T. On these garments of Adam and Eve see PRE, ch. XXIV, Friedlander, op. cit., p. 175: "The coats which the Holy One, blessed be He, made for Adam and his wife were with Noah in the ark, and when he went forth from the ark Ham, the son of Noah brought them forth with him, and gave them as an inheritance to Nimrod". Thanks to the impression he made because of them, Nimrod obtained kingly power over men. Some would link the mystique about the seamless robe of Jesus (Jn. 19:23), and Adam's garment, see Friedlander, op. cit., p. 178, note 2.

<sup>54</sup> PRE, XXIX, Friedlander, op. cit. p. 213 and XLVII, Friedlander, op. cit., p. 371.

<sup>55</sup> *Gilgulim* 'rolling, turning'. In T.B. Keth. IIIa of rolling underground for the Resurrection in Israel. There is also the cabalistic sense in which *gilgul* refers to transmigration of souls; see *Gilgul Neshamoth*, Eisenmenger, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 23, 24 and 87. See also *ibid.*, pp. 86, 87 for the use of *ibbur* in this connection, e.g. *Ibbur die Seelen*, i.e. *Dibuk* (ancient name *ruah*) spirit of evil man at his death possesses a living person. Note the connection of *ibbur* with being impregnated, cf. J.E., Vol. XII, art. Transmigration of Souls, p. 233, 2nd col. While it is true that metempsychosis was not officially accepted by Rabbinic Judaism, there are traces of it as we have seen in haggadic midrash in relation to outstanding Biblical personalities, e.g. Phinehas and Elijah. See above note 54. The influence of Pythagoras on the dissemination of acceptance of metempsychosis in the Graeco-Roman world to which Palestine belonged must have made the concept at least not unfamiliar to the Jewish world of Jesus' time. The *Zohar*, iii 99b, specifically states that all souls are subject to transmigration. Though the *Zohar* be not the work of Simeon ben Yohai it is significant that one of the two names by which it was known was Midrash de-Rabbi Shimeon ben Yohai; he was a Rabbi of the 2nd century A.D. and one of the principal disciples of R. Akiba, who in addition to being an important halachic scholar, was a great mystic.

<sup>56</sup> See Homily III XX: "Christ the only prophet has appeared in different ages. If any one do not allow the man fashioned by the hands of God to have had the Holy Spirit of Christ, how is he not guilty of the greatest impiety in allowing another born of an impure stock to have it? But, he would act most piously, if he should not allow another to have it, but say that he alone has it, who had changed his forms and his names from the beginning of the world, and so reappeared again and again in this world, until coming upon his own times and being anointed with mercy for the works of God the son he shall enjoy rest for ever. His honour is to have rule and lordship over all things in air, earth and water. But in addition to

different forms and at different times down the ages. This is there based on the identity of Adam and the Messiah.<sup>57</sup> In passing we recall that Elijah comes in various guises.<sup>58</sup>

Above we saw that the Matthean genealogy teaches that Jesus is Son of David (and Abraham) but the Lucan genealogy deliberately makes the point that Jesus is not only Son of David, but Son of Adam, who was Son of God. I think one should not rule out the possibility that Jesus in his use of the title Son of Man as describing himself was referring to himself as Son of Adam<sup>59</sup>. The inclusion of Adam in Luke's<sup>60</sup> genealogy of Jesus used to be understood as just showing the universalism of Luke's picture of Jesus. But could not this be symptomatic of a tendency to read back Western theological concepts into 1st century Christian (i.e. Messianic) Jewish texts?

In Lk. 20:41-44 Jesus is stressing that he is greater than David in that he is the Messiah, the culmination of the process. Note how he stresses the divine<sup>61</sup> revelation to David and uses David's words<sup>62</sup> to

these himself having made man, he had breath, the indescribable garment of the soul, that he might be able to be immortal". See *The ante-Nicene Fathers*, Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325, editors A. Roberts and J. Donaldson. Revised, Vol. VIII Buffalo, 1886, p. 242.

<sup>57</sup> See *J.E.*, vol. 1, art. Adam Kadmon, p. 182 Victorinus Rhetor (ad Gal. 1:19, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* VIII, col. 1155) states: "The Symmachiani teach Eum Christum — Adam esse et esse animam generalem".

<sup>58</sup> Cf. my article 'Elijah and the Pauline Christ', *Abr-Nahrain*, 26 (1988), op. cit.

<sup>59</sup> When writing in 1948 the article (n. 44 above) I noted (p. 285) that Abbott has postulated Bar-Adam as Jesus' self-designation, but dismissed it; now I incline to Abbott's view.

<sup>60</sup> In this too Abbott, as I acknowledged in the above-mentioned article (p. 285), had seen significance, not that I did then.

<sup>61</sup> Matthean parallel Mt. 22:43 "How then doth David in spirit call him Lord?". Mark (Mk. 12:36) "For David himself said by the Holy Ghost". (Luke (Lk. 20:42) "And David himself saith in the book of Psalms; all three statements really are claiming divine revelation to David by the Holy Spirit. In Lk. 24:44 the Risen Christ says: "all things must be fulfilled, which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me". Ergo the Psalms were part of the inspired canonical Scriptures.

<sup>62</sup> The Psalm quoted is Ps. 110:1 "The LORD said to my Lord". Jesus' comment (Lk. 20:44): "David therefore himself calleth him Lord, and whence is he then his son?" Verbally this is very close to Mk. 12:37. Mt. 22:45 is similar but less emphatic. Nevertheless, David's witness is essential. Note it appears to be the Scribes who said that the Christ (i.e. the Messiah) was David's son so Mk. 12:35, but cf. Mt. 22:42: it is the Pharisees who affirm it. In Lk. 20:41 the question seems to be put to the Scribes, but as in Mk. 12 there is no answer from them. It is however a fact that the term Son of David was a name for the Messiah in rabbinic sources. See note 36 above.



make this claim for himself and his concept of his messiahship. It hangs on this identification of his messiahship with his being Son of Man. It is not dependent on his being recognised in the Age to Come as Messiah. He is Messiah now, was Messiah when David indited the Psalm, because he was and is the Son of Man. He, Jesus, is not<sup>63</sup> denying that he is son of David, but he is also Son of Man/Adam. The Son of Man, Dan. 7:13, coming in the clouds to be present at the Judgement, and the Son of Man of Enoch seem to be derived or related to the Merkabah vision of Ezek. 1. though in Ezekiel the one on the throne is in the appearance of the likeness as the appearance of Man/Adam. Stephen's vision in Acts 7:56 seems to combine the Merkabah vision of Ezek. 1.26 and the Son of Man of Dan. 7.13 who is with the Ancient of Days the whitehaired man on the throne (Dan. 7:9), i.e. God.

Jesus in Mk. 2,25,26 cites in apparent defence of what his disciples were doing on the Sabbath in plucking and rubbing corn,<sup>64</sup> how

<sup>63</sup> He is called son of David by those wanting his help and Jesus responds to the plea, cf. Mk. 10:47, 48, Lk. 18:38,39. In Matthew there are more occurrences of Jesus being addressed by the messianic title, son of David, e.g. Mt. 9:27 (2 blind men), Mt. 12:23: the people after seeing Jesus exorcise said "is not that the Son of David?". This is denied by the Pharisees who charge that Jesus has demonic power at his service. In Mt. 15:22 the Canaanite woman with a devil-possessed daughter says: "O Lord, son of David, have mercy on me", and again (Mt. 20:30,31) two blind men: "Have mercy on us, O Lord, thou son of David". Then there are the multitude on the way to Jerusalem and the children at the Temple: "Hosanna to the son of David" (Mt. 21:9,15).

<sup>64</sup> Synoptic parallels Mt. 12:1, Lk. 6:1. Mt. 12:1 specifically mentions the disciples eating it. Only Mk. 2:27 has: "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath". In effect Matthew and Luke focus attention on the authority of the Son of Man; e.g. according to Lk. 6:4 David gave the shewbread to those who were with him, when it was not lawful for even himself to eat it which he did. Jesus as Son of Man and Lord also of the Sabbath (Lk. 6:5) has the authority to let his disciples act as they did. As to Mark's statement: "The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath" it is customary to take the reference to man here as if it was plainly every man — man in general. But was that the original intention? Could not man mean Adam the first man? Midrash PRE, ch. XX, Friedlander, op. cit., p. 143, points out that Adam kept the Sabbath first in the lower regions, i.e. after his sin in Eden. PRE adds: "The Sabbath day protected him from all evil, and comforted him on account of the doubts of his heart, as it is said — "In the multitudes of my doubts within me, thy comforts delight my soul" (Ps. 94:19): PRE, ch. XVIII, Friedlander, op. cit., pp. 125f. The sabbath day arrived and became an advocate for the first man with God. The midrash adds (p. 126), that by the merit of the Sabbath day Adam was saved from the judgement of Gehinnom. Adam, beginning to observe the Sabbath day, uttered his psalm for the Sabbath day (Ps. 92).

David and his comrades ate the shewbread which was legal only for the priest to eat. Then he adds that the Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath. This is usually understood as meaning that man's needs take precedence over the commandment of not working on the Sabbath. But could it not be that Jesus is also setting himself as Son of Man over and above David? In short, it should be taken in conjunction with the argument in Mk. 12: 36,37 (parallel to Lk. 20: 42,44) that the Messiah being the Son of Man is greater than David? In effect we have in the Synoptic Marcan material the parallel claim to that spelt out in Q.<sup>65</sup> There it was that a greater than Solomon is here; here the claim is implicit: a greater than David is here.

Our study would be incomplete without reference to Paul. Paul admits Jesus' Davidic descent.<sup>66</sup> Paul does not mention Jesus's own use of the term Son of Man. Yet Paul with his mention of the First<sup>67</sup> Adam and his identification of Jesus Christ with the Second Adam shows, as Louis Ginzberg argued in his seminal article "Adam Kadmon",<sup>68</sup> Paul's knowledge of, and agreement with Palestinian Midrash. The spiritual heavenly Adam could, indeed would, though created first before the earthly Adam, be regarded and was so regarded as second, because he came later into the created world

<sup>65</sup> Jesus' claim to be greater than Solomon (Mt. 12:42; Lk. 11:31) and greater than Jonah (Mt. 12:41; Lk. 11:32). Note: in Mt. 12:40 Jesus qua Son of Man is comparing himself with Jonah. See also Lk. 11:30.

<sup>66</sup> Rom. 1:3.

<sup>67</sup> 1 Cor. 15:45: the first man/Adam was made a living soul (cf. Gen. 2:7), the last man/Adam *was* made a quickening spirit. In v. 47: The first man is of the earth, earthy: the second man is the Lord from heaven. Yet in Rom. 5:14 Adam is the figure of him that was to come.

<sup>68</sup> It is worth quoting Louis Ginzberg's important comment: *J.E.*, vol. I, art. 'Adam Kadmon' p. 181: "This Midrash is even of greater importance for the understanding of Pauline Christology, as affording the key to Paul's doctrine of the first and second Adam. The main passage in Pauline Christology is 1 Cor. XV 45-50, according to which there is a double form of man's existence: for God created a heavenly Adam in the spiritual world and an early one of clay for the material world. The earthly Adam came first into view although created last. The first Adam was of flesh and blood, and therefore subject to death, merely a living soul; the second Adam was a life-giving spirit — a spirit whose badge like the heavenly being in general was only of a spiritual nature. As a pupil of Gamaliel, Paul simply operated with conceptions familiar to the Palestinian theologians — Messiah, as the Midrash remarks, is, on the one hand, the first Adam, the original man, who existed before Creation his Spirit being already present. On the other hand he is also the second Adam in so far as his bodily appearance followed the Creation, and is as much as according to the flesh he is of the posterity of Adam". I am not aware that this key to Pauline Christology offered by Louis Ginzberg has been fully utilised by Christian theologians.

when God breathed the spirit into Adam. The midrash is based on the words behind and before in Ps. 139:5. In Midrash Gen. R. VIII on Ps. 139:5 "Thou hast formed me behind and before", *behind and before* is to be explained as before the first and after the last day of Creation. "For it is said 'and the spirit of God moved on the face of the waters' meaning the spirit of the Messiah". However, the Midrash Psalms on Ps. 139:5 has, instead of the Messiah, the Spirit of Adam. Actually the Ebionites<sup>69</sup> and other early Christian sects equated Adam and Jesus. The Midrash cites Isa. 11:2 "and the spirit of the Lord shall rest in him".

Such midrashic discussion cited above belongs to the rabbinic esoteric lore called *Ma'aseh Bereshith*, Act of Creation/Discussion on Creation, and the *Ma'aseh Merkabah*, which is about God's rule from His throne. If Paul was au fait with discussions on *ma'aseh bereshith* in the School of Gamaliel, he was likewise au fait with the *Ma'aseh Merkabah*. He may even have been one of the Yorede Merkabah, as students of the Chariot lore were called. *Yored* is used of one embarking on a ship. Note its application to the Chariot. Did Paul<sup>70</sup> in attaining to the third heaven embark on the Chariot even metaphorically? The *Ma'aseh Merkabah* was based on Ezekiel 1 and his chariot vision. Ezek. 1:26 is important because of the likeness and appearance of a man on the throne. But who was actually on the throne? Did Ezekiel claim to see God face to face? If so it was more than Moses did.<sup>71</sup> Actually in Ezek 1:28 this was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord—note he does not say that it was the LORD. The Glory of the LORD is not the LORD.<sup>72</sup> The *Kabod* (Hebrew) or *Yekara* (Aramaic) is something associated with God. In the Targums *Yekara*, like the *Memra* occurs as paraphrases distancing God somewhat from things mundane. In Ezek. 1:26

<sup>69</sup> Epiphanius, *Adversus Haereses*, XXX, 3; cf. *J.E.*, vol. I, art. 'Adam Kadmon', p. 182, 2nd col. top.

<sup>70</sup> 2 Cor. 12:2.

<sup>71</sup> Ex. 33:20,23 God's face not to be seen; yet Isaiah the prophet saw the Lord sitting on a throne in the Temple, Isa. 6:1.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Ex. 33:22 in Targum Onkelos: "It shall be that when My Glory passes I will put you in a cavern of the rock and my Word shall overshadow you until I have passed". Targ. Ps. Jon.: "It shall be that when the glory of My Shekinah passes before you, I will put you in a cavern of the rock, and will overshadow you with My Word until the time that I have passed by". Cf. also Acts 7:55 (Stephen) "saw the glory δόξα of God and Jesus standing on the right hand of God".

"And upon the likeness of the throne was the likeness as the appearance of a man or Adam above upon it". The word *Adam* is used here. Now Adam in Gen. 1:26,27 was made in both the image and likeness of God. In Ezek. 1:27 the likeness of this man is described as "the color of amber, or to the appearance of fire above the loins, fire below and brightness round about". This reminds one of haggadic descriptions of Adam as he was created by God, not as he became.<sup>73</sup> PRE says: "Adam stood on his feet and was adorned with the divine image". Ezek. 1:28 sums up the description saying: "This was the appearance of the likeness of the glory<sup>74</sup> of the LORD". But was it the LORD Himself? Ezekiel does not say it was. The description of the figure of a Man/Adam on the throne has definite points of resemblance to descriptions of Adam as he was before the fall in Samaritan<sup>75</sup> and some Jewish<sup>76</sup> Midrash. The synoptic term 'son of man' sometimes means<sup>77</sup> man, a man belonging to the genus man; but again sometimes<sup>78</sup> Jesus in his glory. Can we argue that the exalted Son of Man is the exalted Man/Adam? If so could there be more than a parallel between the appearance of

<sup>73</sup> PRE, ch. XI, Friedlander, p. 79. PRE (ibid) also states: "All the creatures saw him and became afraid of him, thinking that he was their Creator, and they came to prostrate themselves before him". Adam, the Midrash adds, expostulated with the creatures "Why are ye come to prostrate yourselves before me? Come I and you, let us go and adorn in majesty and might, and acclaim (p. 80) as King over us the One who created us". Adam, accompanied by all the creatures, made acclamation in the words of Ps. 113:1, a psalm which was recited in the Temple on the sixth day of the week. See: T.B. Rosh ha-Shanah 31a.

<sup>74</sup> The Targum to Ezekiel 1:28 "the likeness of the *Yekara* of *Yeya*."

<sup>75</sup> Cf. "Malef", *Abr-Nahrain*, 20 (1981-82), 3.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. PRE, ch. XII, Friedlander, p. 85 "And (Adam) was at his leisure in the garden of Eden, like one of the ministering angels. The Holy One blessed be He said: 'I am alone in my world and this one (Adam) also is alone in his world. There is no propagation before Me and this one (Adam) has no propagation in his life. Hereafter all the creatures will say: since there was no propagation in his life, it is he who has created us'". This is God "quoting" Gen. 2:18a. The Midrash here seems to be answering views that Adam was creator. See Gen. R. 12.7 (cited by Friedlander).

<sup>77</sup> The term 'Son of Man' as used by Jesus in describing himself reflects what Jesus wished to emphasize in this or that logion, e.g. Mt. 8:20: "The Son of Man hath not where to lay his head" neither denies his humanity as over against the foxes and birds, nor does it deny his uniqueness by implication among the sons of Adam.

<sup>78</sup> Lk. 9:26: "When he (the Son of Man) shall come in his glory and in his Father's and of the holy angels". Mt. 16:27 "For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels" (cf. Mk 8:38). But see Mt. 16 v. 28: "till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom (as Messiah)".

likeness of Adam in the Merkabah and the gospel Son of man, Jesus' term for himself?

Whereas no rabbinic Jewish source specifically says that the appearance like of Adam of the Chariot throne was the Adam Qadmon the heavenly spiritual Adam, equally no Jewish mystic actually claimed to see God in the Chariot vision.

The Glory of God was to be seen, but not God. Note it is not the man that speaks — see Ezek. 1:28. I assume that Paul would have interpreted the human figure on the Merkabah Throne as his second Adam, the Lord from heaven, i.e. his Jesus Christ.<sup>79</sup> Paul's Lord Jesus Christ is the heavenly spiritual Adam, Paul's second Adam. The fact that Jesus is the Christ, i.e. the Davidic Messiah, presents no contradiction. The Jewish midrash can equate the heavenly spiritual Adam with the Biblical spirit of God brooding over the waters at Creation Gen. 1:2 in one midrash<sup>80</sup> and in another<sup>81</sup> substitute for Adam, the Messiah. The heavenly, spiritual Adam, i.e. the heavenly man of Son of Man is interchangeable with the pre-existent Jewish Messiah. The Messiah in question could only be Divine.

I would suggest that Son of Man/Adam, i.e. Man/Adam = Messiah in the Synoptics and the Pauline Jesus Christ, son of David, second Adam, can be seen to declare the same person when the Heavenly Son of Man<sup>82</sup> in both the Synoptics and John are seen to be identified with the Pauline second Adam, the Lord from heaven. In other words, the heavenly Son of Man or Eschatological Son of Man (one and the same) = Paul's second Adam can present the basic connection between the Synoptic and the Pauline Christology. Both have distanced themselves from the man Jesus though the son of man description of himself was intended as a claim of true humanity.

It all depends on how we understand what is meant by man =

<sup>79</sup> See 1 Cor. 15:47.

<sup>80</sup> Midrash Psalms Ps. 139. Gen. 2-4.

<sup>81</sup> Midrash Pesikta R. 33.6. See *Pesikta Rabbati*, Yale Judaica Series XVIII:2, translated from the Hebrew by William G. Braude. New Haven, 1968, pp. 642, 643: "But where is the proof that the King Messiah existed from the beginning of God's creation of the world? The proof is in the verse '*And the Spirit of God moved*, words which identify the King Messiah of whom it is said '*And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him*'" (Isa. 11:2).

<sup>82</sup> Mt. 13:41: "The Son of man shall send forth his angels". See also Mt. 16:27, 28; 19:28; 24:30; 25:31; 26:64. Over against such Matthean evidence for a heavenly Son of Man one has to content oneself with Mk. 8:38; Mk. 13:26 and Lk. 9:26; Lk. 21:27. Mt. 16:27. "For the Son of Man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels" reminds one of the Merkabah vision of Ezek. 1. This would also apply to Lk. 9:26 and Mk. 8:38.

Adam. What Adam and when? We must remember that there were different levels of interpretation of Hebrew Scripture, and the Gospels were religious documents, Jewish in origin. In studying them too, one must be aware of different levels of interpretation in them just as much as in the Torah, and they range from the plain meaning through the homiletic to the mystic and all can be found in any one text.

### CONCLUSION

In this article David is central; not only does Adam in Midrash quote "David Psalms", but Jesus on the cross in Luke's Gospel commends his spirit to God in the words of Psalm 31. In Mt. 27:46, and Mk. 15:34 he cites Psalm 22:1 (another "Ps. of David") which provided the base for the N.T. haggadic Midrash of the crucifixion itself.

Further the Messiah was David's son; but Adam is fundamental — no Adam, no David, no Messiah. The Haggadah well known in Jewish midrash of all the souls appearing before Adam and his giving a lifetime to David dramatises the importance of Adam. That Jesus, Son of David, called himself Son of Man/Adam, when seen against the background of this Jewish midrash on Adam and David, surely underlines the significance of Adam. Further that Paul sees Jesus his Messiah as Second Adam, while admitting that he is son of David shows the continuing importance of Adam. That some Christians went so far as to identify Adam with Jesus is further significant. At best it shows that the much later Cabalists who believed that the spirit in the Adam Kadmon was also in David and the same spirit in the Messiah reflected views that had been held long before their time. But then Cabala does mean tradition (even though sometimes it had to be held in secret).

The Hebrew word *Atid* for the 'future', basically means 'ready, designated'. It is the past that matters. In the haggadic midrash already referred to God causes all the souls of Israel that ever were to be to pass in front of Adam. Not only was the soul of David already in existence but the very Psalms he was to indite or edit because inspired by the spirit of God were in existence as was the Torah; in its wider sense the Torah included all the inspired words of the prophets and Rabbis. On the spiritual level time as we now know it did not, does not, exist. Haggadically there was not, is not, any

barrier between heaven and earth, or earth and heaven, especially for those for whom transference is 'prepared' e.g. Adam or the Messiah. The Johannine statement by Jesus Jn. 3:13 is within this framework of thought even though it claims it solely for Christ. He that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man who is in heaven. This is at least part of the 'heavenly things' that Jesus reveals to Nicodemus. Those who stress the humanity of the Son of Man in the Synoptics to almost the exclusion of the heavenly Son of Man might with profit bear in mind the comments of the Persian Father Aphraates<sup>83</sup> on the verse Mt. 8:20 "the Son of Man has nowhere to lay his head", and this Johannine verse.

Further the identification by Paul of Jesus Christ and the Second Adam in essence means the identification of the Son of Man and the Spirit of Adam, so that the Spiritual Adam, and the Son of David and the Messiah are identified by Paul as one, while in the Jewish Cabala the spirit of Adam and of David and of the Messiah is one and the same summed up by the acronym **אדם** the consonantal letters of Adam. One is reminded of Rev. 22:13, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last", and v. 16 "I am the root and offspring of David".

#### POSTSCRIPT

In John's Gospel the heavenly nature of the Son of Man is never lost 1:51 "thereafter ye shall see heaven open and the angels of God ascending and descending from the Son of Man". He is greater than Jacob/Israel. He is the Word — (Jn. 1:1,14) and is worthy of divine honours — Jn. 1:3 stresses the constant heavenly being of the Son of Man when on earth. Jn. 5:27 declares the God-given authority of the Son of Man to execute judgement which v. 28-29 show clearly is eschatological. Jn. 6:27 stresses the need for men to receive the spiritual teaching of the Son of Man of Jn. 6:63. Jn. 6:62 emphasizes the heavenly abode of the Son of Man.

But there is another element in John's teaching of the Son of Man. Not only is the Son of Man's mission to earth important in imparting only spiritual teaching and true knowledge of God, and His love, but the manner of his departure is important. Just as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up

<sup>83</sup> Aphraates, *De Monachis* 9.

(Jn. 3:14). Then Jn. 8:28 "when ye have lifted up the Son of Man, etc., then shall ye know that I am he, and that I do nothing of myself; but as my Father, hath taught me, I speak these things". In Jn. 12:23 (when in v. 22 Philip and Andrew tell Jesus that certain Greeks said "We would see Jesus"), Jesus says: "The hour is come, that the Son of Man shall be glorified". From his teaching of v. 24 and 27 it is plain that his passion is imminent and essential for his mission. The cosmic nature of the event is made plain in v. 31. "Now is the judgement of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out". Verses 32 and 33 make plain that "if I be lifted up (v. 32) from the earth" signifies the death he should die. In Jn. 13:31 when Judas (into whom Satan (v. 27) entered) when he went out from the Supper identified as the betrayer, Jesus (v. 31) said "Now is the Son of Man glorified and God is glorified in him". With Judas (in whom Satan now was) being cast out from the fellowship, Satan in him, as it were, is cast out. The mission of Jesus as Son of Man to earth is not just for men's good as in Jn. 3:14,15 but for the continued glory of God (cf. Jn. 12:27-28). There is a background of cosmic struggle, Satan against God through man. So God by sending the Heavenly Son of Man qua man saves men by his presence and example from Satan, driving out Satan from men and enlisting men against Satan to the greater Glory of God and the Son of Man. There is quite a whiff of Zoroastrianism in the Johannine Son of Man.

Wright,<sup>84</sup> says of the twelve Son of Man references in John: "It is sufficient that in several of these passages the title is associated with some symbolical expression, (Son of Man) of the unique fellowship Jesus enjoyed with God. This association is the Evangelist's way of saying what he said in the Prologue — namely that there is real correspondence between heaven and earth and that this correspondence was uniquely manifest in Jesus". Here he cites Jn. 1:51. On Jn. 3:13 and 14 he sees the Evangelist giving expression "in his dramatic and allegorical way, to the consciousness of Jesus". "The ascent of the Son of Man to heaven is the Evangelist's way of speaking of the direct knowledge of God possessed and won by Jesus. The 'descent' of the Son of Man from heaven is his way of speaking of the *source* of *origin* of the experience and message of Jesus". He dismisses the idea of Jesus (qua Son of Man) "of

<sup>84</sup> Major, Manson and Wright, *The Mission and Message of Jesus*. MacMillan, London 1940, pp. 683f.



speaking of a memory of a pre-existent life in heaven", and of a "miraculous coming down out of heaven". He maintains "What he is saying or what his whole consciousness so expressed by the Evangelist is saying is that he who was truly man partook of the heavenly nature of God" (p. 684). There is doubtless much that is metaphorical and allegorical in John. But where does the allegory and metaphor stop? Is God too a metaphor?

On the other hand, Wright's demythologizing the Johannine Jesus *qua* Son of Man ascending to heaven sparks off the question in my mind whether Jesus or John had studied and practiced the Merkabah mysticism. Saul/Paul seems clearly to have been a devotee of Merkabah mysticism. His vision on the Damascus road bears witness to that. Then there is his claim to have been in the third heaven. The *yored Merkabah*, the one who boarded the Chariot held be ascended to heaven and saw the divine Glory enthroned, and all this while he studied Ezekiel (chapter one) not merely *Peshat* (literally), but *Sod*, i.e. the mystic cabalistic way, and attained paradise. It is surely significant that entrance to Paradise can be by mystic interpretation of the Scripture.<sup>85</sup> Attaining Paradise is surely a state of the mind, so is ascending to Paradise/Heaven.

Could Mt. 11: 25:27, Lk. 10:21,22 the two Johannine-style passages from Q about the Son bear testimony to Jesus' great attainment in Merkabah mysticism, so that he son of man, ordinary man as he is understood to have styled himself, saw himself, as Adam (Son of God Lk. 3:38) on the flying Chariot throne, conveyor of messages for mankind from God with whom he communed in his mystic meditations? The Merkabah mysticism not only grappled with the problem of justifying God to man but of glorifying Him, cf. Jn. 12:28. The difference in Jesus' case is that he revealed the fruit of his mystic merkabah experiences to the uninitiated and even to the *Am ha-aretz*: the Kingdom of God and His righteousness.

In the Synoptics the heavenly Son of Man is not excluded but is

<sup>85</sup> Pardis (i.e. Paradise), an anagram made up of the initial letters of the names of the four methods of exegesis of the Torah *Peshat*, *Remez*, *Derush*, *Sod* (i.e. literal, through degrees of homiletic to mystical); it typified the well-known Jewish view that Torah, which was at the closed gateway to Eden, had first to be penetrated before Eden could be regained. But for those who gain by spiritual insight the innermost meaning of the Torah, entry to paradise *while in this world* can be achieved thanks to Merkabah. G.F. Moore *Judaism*, Harvard U.P., 1927, vol. 1, p. 413 stated: "Their (the adepts of the Chariot) visions of Paradise were soon — if not from the first — taken for real ascents to heaven (T.B. Hag. 14b end)".

not so manifestly evident just as the human Son of Man is in no manner completely obscured in John. We would benefit in our study of the Gospels if we were to realise their debt not only to the Judaism of Midrash and Talmud but to Jewish mysticism of the Cabala, the mystic tradition. Messiah Jesus son of David, son of Adam, son of God: cf. Lk. 3:38. The same Divine Living Spirit was breathed into them all.

## EMAR ON THE EUPHRATES IN THE 13<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY B.C.

Some thoughts about newly published cuneiform texts\*

BY

GUY BUNNENS

From 1972 to 1976 a French expedition led by Prof. Jean Margueron excavated Meskene Qadime, the site of the ancient city of Emar, on the right bank of the Euphrates, some 100 km east-south-east of Aleppo.<sup>1</sup> Emar, already mentioned in the 3rd millennium texts of Ebla, is well known as a major harbour city on the Euphrates, transfer-point on the commercial route from Babylonia to the West.<sup>2</sup> Several hundreds of cuneiform tablets were unearthed in the course of the excavations, known so far through preliminary reports only.<sup>3</sup> D. Arnaud offers now a complete edition of 536 epistolary, administrative and ritual texts, written in Akkadian, in a volume of transliterations and translations accompanied by two volumes of autographed copies. Literary texts and a general commentary are still to come, as well as an edition of the Hittite and Hurrian texts by E. Laroche and M. Salvini.<sup>4</sup>

\* D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Aštata. Emar*, VI, *Textes sumériens et accadiens*, vol. 1-3, Paris, Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1985-1986, vol. 1-2, pp. 756, FF 364, vol. 3, pp. 494, FF 325.

<sup>1</sup> For a summary of the discoveries see D. Beyer (Ed.), *Meskene-Emar. Dix ans de travaux 1972-1982*, Paris 1982.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g., E. Sollberger, *Administrative Texts Chiefly Concerning Textiles* (L. 2752), ARET, VIII, Rome 1986, p. 45, s.v. *i-mar<sup>ki</sup>*; M. Heltzer, "Imar", *RLA*, V/1-2 (1976), pp. 65-66; A. Finet, "Le port d'Emar sur l'Euphrate entre le royaume de Mari et le pays de Canaan", in E. Lipiński (Ed.), *The Land of Israel: Cross-Roads of Civilizations*, Louvain 1985, pp. 27-38.

<sup>3</sup> The most important ones are D. Arnaud, "Les textes d'Emar et la chronologie de la fin du Bronze Récent", *Syria*, 52 (1975), pp. 87-92 (hereafter "Chronologie"); Id., "Traditions urbaines et influences semi-nomades à Emar, à l'âge du Bronze Récent", in J. Margueron (Ed.), *Le Moyen Euphrate*, Leiden 1980, pp. 245-264 (hereafter "Traditions"); Id., "Humbles et superbes à Emar (Syrie) à la fin de l'âge du Bronze Récent", in A. Caquot and M. Delcor (Eds), *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Henri Cazelles*, AOAT, 212, Kevelaer & Neukirchen-Vluyn 1981, pp. 1-14; Id., "Les textes suméro-accadiens: un florilège", in D. Beyer (Ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 43-51. Preliminary reports published by D. Arnaud in *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études (Ve Section)* from 1976 on were not available to me.

<sup>4</sup> On these see provisionally E. Laroche, "Emar, étape entre Babylone et le

The tablets date from the 13th and early 12th c. B.C. They cover a timespan of a little more than three generations and cannot have extended much far beyond 1187 B.C., date of a contract found in a private house (No. 26, 9: 2nd year of the Babylonian king Meliṣihu).<sup>5</sup>

Apart from a few private archives and several dozens of tablets found in the palace, in the temples of Baal and Astarte as well as in the anonymous temple M2, the bulk of the corpus (No. 137-535) is made of the finds from temple M1 called the Pantheon by D. Arnaud.<sup>6</sup> Together with tablets from other Euphrates sites and from illegal excavations in the area, these texts provide a mass of new information on Syria at the end of the Late Bronze Age and complement the contemporary archives of Ugarit.

The following lines aim to illustrate a few of the numerous problems these texts shed light on.

# 1. HITTITE ADMINISTRATION

It has been recognized, a long time ago, that Emar was located in the land of Ashtata and that the land of Ashtata was more or less equivalent to the so-called Big Bend of the Euphrates.<sup>7</sup> Another widely held, although rarely clearly stated, opinion holds that Emar is the capital city of the land of Ashtata.<sup>8</sup> This latter assumption, however, is not well supported by the newly published texts.

Nowhere is the king of Emar referred to, in one way or another, as the king of Ashtata.<sup>9</sup> In the Emar texts known so far only two references to Ashtata are available — a rather surprising fact if Emar was the capital of Ashtata. The first reference is in an Akkadian text. It uses the determinative of the city names before the name of

Hatti", in J. Margueron (Ed.), *Le Moyen Euphrate*, Leiden 1980, pp. 235-44; Id., "Documents hittites et hourrites", in D. Beyer (Ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 53-60.

<sup>5</sup> "Chronologie", pp. 87-89.

<sup>6</sup> "Traditions", p. 247, cf. n. 40, p. 253.

<sup>7</sup> On Ashtata see H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. u. Z.*, III, Berlin 1970, p. 90; G.F. Del Monte, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der bethitischen Texte*, RGTC, 6, Wiesbaden 1978, pp. 48-49.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. E. Laroche, "Emar, étape entre Babylone et le Hatti" (quoted in n. 4), p. 236, cf. Id., "Les hiéroglyphes hittites de Meskene-Emar: un emprunt d'écriture", *CRAI*, 1983, p. 62; J. Margueron, "Aux marches de l'empire hittite: une campagne de fouille à Tell Faq'ous (Syrie)", in *La Syrie au Bronze Récent*, Paris 1982, p. 62.

<sup>9</sup> This is why, on the strength of preliminary information concerning the Emar find, M.C. Astour, "The Rabbeans: A Tribal Society on the Euphrates From Yahdun-Lim to Julius Caesar", *SMS*, 2/1 (1978), p. 6, thought that Emar and Ashtata were two separate kingdoms.

Ashtata and mentions a city gate immediately after it, unfortunately in a broken context.<sup>10</sup> Ashtata is thus, probably, only a city according to this text. The other text is a Hittite letter.<sup>11</sup> It mentions a diviner from Ashtata and is only known through a translation that does not provide any clue as to what Ashtata actually was. Outside of Emar an Akkadian text from Alalakh also uses the determinative of the city names in connection with Ashtata (*AT*, 89, 3) and the Annals of Murshili II do not leave much doubt about the fact that Ashtata could also have been the name of a city: they say that the king arrived in Ashtata (with the determinative of the city names), entered the city and built a fortress there.<sup>12</sup> It is thus more than likely that Ashtata was the name of a city as well as that of a country and a reasonable assumption would be that this city was the capital of the homonymous land. It follows from this that, unless we equate the city of Ashtata with Emar,<sup>13</sup> Emar cannot have been the capital of the land of Ashtata.

It was part of it, however. How can we explain this in geopolitical terms?

The Hittite texts refer to the people of Ashtata, not to its king.<sup>14</sup> We may thus infer that Ashtata was probably not organized into a kingdom. It nonetheless possessed a kind of political unity as it possessed a capital city. Would not the most likely explanation be that Ashtata was a kind of confederation as Nuhašše, farther west, was? In such a case, the kingdom of Emar would have been only one of the members of this confederation.

Such a view would help to understand the function of a puzzling official, the UGULA.KALAM.MA, “Chief of the Country”, mentioned several times in the Emar texts. D. Arnaud points out that the “Chief of the Country”, along with the “king’s son(s)”, was an official of high rank to whom the Emar authorities were subordinated.<sup>15</sup> Some evidence may indicate that he does not permanently reside in Emar.

<sup>10</sup> No. 19, 11-12: *i-n*ja <sup>uru</sup>*Aš-ta-ta* / *KÁ.GAL ma-am-ma* [“...in the city of Ashtata the gate whoever...”].

<sup>11</sup> Msk 73.1097, cf. E. Laroche, *art. cit.* (n. 4), in D. Beyer (Ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 54.

<sup>12</sup> Translation of the text in G.F. Del Monte, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 48.

<sup>13</sup> As J. Margueron, *art. cit.* (n. 8), p. 62, does.

<sup>14</sup> See references in G.F. Del Monte, *loc. cit.* (n. 7).

<sup>15</sup> “Traditions”, p. 252, n. 32; D. Arnaud, “La Syrie du moyen-Euphrate sous le protectorat hittite: l’administration d’après trois lettres inédites”, *Aula Orientalis*, 2 (1984), pp. 182-83.

For instance, he sends a letter, apparently to Emar, from a place called Rashbata (No. 259, 4-7). Another letter from him, addressed to two persons called Agiya and Sin-rabu, was found in Emar and so, probably, sent from another place (No. 262). One letter addressed to him was found in Emar. This could mean that, at least at that time, he resided there. The text of this letter, however, appears on the same tablet as that of another letter sent by the same writer but to another addressee (No. 263). Such a double document makes it rather likely that the tablet contains only a copy of the actual letters and that these were sent from Emar and not to it. The best evidence, however, is provided by a letter that was not found in regular excavations but that is addressed to the UGULA, "Chief", assuredly the "Chief of the Country", by somebody residing in Emar.<sup>16</sup> This letter, which distinguishes very clearly the land of Emar from the place where the Chief of the Country currently is, establishes beyond any doubt that, in this case at least, the Chief (of the Country) was not a permanent resident of Emar.<sup>17</sup>

We may thus assume that the Chief of the Country, although he exerted some authority on Emar, did not have a permanent residence there. Could we not consider that he resided in the city of Ashtata and that, from there, he ruled the whole country of Ashtata, Emar being only a part of it? In such a case Ashtata, apparently not ruled by a king, would have been a kind of province and the Chief of the Country could have been its governor.

Immediately superior to the Chief of the Country would have been the King's Sons, as D. Arnaud already pointed out.<sup>18</sup> This is supported, for instance, by the fact that the Chief of the Country is mentioned just after a King's Son at the top of a list of witnesses to a will (No. 181.19), or by the fact that, in the afore-mentioned letter No. 262, he wants to hand over detainees to a King's Son as a higher authority, or else by the fact that, in No. 252, he is one of the authorities to whom a law case is submitted, the first of them being a certain Mutri-Tesub known to have been a King's Son.<sup>19</sup>

The title of King's Son (DUMU.LUGAL) is ambiguous. It may refer to a member of the local dynasty.<sup>20</sup> In the Hittite administration

<sup>16</sup> D. Arnaud, *ibid.*, Text III, p. 186.

<sup>17</sup> D. Arnaud, *ibid.*, p. 186, notices that the Chief of the Country was travelling a lot.

<sup>18</sup> See n. 15.

<sup>19</sup> See D. Arnaud, *art. cit.* (n. 15), p. 183, n. 9.

<sup>20</sup> E.g. in No. 137, 5. 15; 138, 18; 142, 8-9; 168, 11'. 16'. 17'. 18'.

as well as in Syria, however, it refers to high officials, whatever, apparently, their relationship to the royal family.<sup>21</sup>

The texts from Ugarit show the kind of responsibility the Hittite King's Sons exert in Syria: they are kinds of *chargés d'affaire* responsible for various matters. Alihesnu, for instance, writes to the king of Ugarit concerning the settlement of the borders of his kingdom (PRU, III, p. 6), and Arma-ziti arbitrates a dispute between the queen (of Ugarit?) and the tax-collector (PRU, IV, p. 189), whereas Pihawalwi summons Ibiranu, king of Ugarit, to the Hittite court because he never showed up since his accession (PRU, IV, p. 191). King's Sons may also be entrusted with special missions to the local kings: treaties show them as messengers (PRU, IV, 17) or as military representatives (PRU, IV, 24) and a certain Misramuwa is dispatched to Ugarit for an unspecified business (PRU, IV, p. 193).

The Emar evidence, although more restricted, does not disagree with this. King's Sons are obviously important dignitaries, be they from Hattusha or from Carchemish. It is before a King's Son as a qualified witness that a sale of slaves (No. 211) and a settlement of debts (No. 211) are conducted. A king's Son affixes his seal to a deed, probably to confer authenticity to it (No. 182). King's Sons may also have a power of a more political or judicial nature as the afore-mentioned one to whom detainees are handed over by the Chief of the Country (No. 262).

It results from the above considerations that King's Sons are probably entrusted with specific and temporary tasks, being kinds of *missi dominici*. Their responsibility seems to consist of a contribution to the overall control over the Hittite dominions wherever and whenever required.

The way this power was exerted was probably regulated by a treaty, *māmītu*, which a text, precisely involving a King's Son, alludes to.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> See F. Imparati, "'Signori' e 'figli del re'", *Orientalia*, n. s., 44 (1975), pp. 80-95. The opposite opinion is held, wrongly in my eyes, by A.F. Rainey, "The Prince and the Pauper", *UF*, 7 (1975), pp. 427-32. Documents from Ugarit record the appointment of a "Queen's Son" (PRU, III, 16.204, pp. 119-20, Rev. 10'-12'; 16.138, pp. 143-45, l. 34-36). What was feasible for the queen must have been feasible for the king as well!

<sup>22</sup> No. 18, 11-12: the king, apparently of Carchemish, reprimands Heshmi-Teshub, apparently the King's Son (cf. D. Arnaud, "Hešmi-Tešub", *RA*, 69 [1974], p. 190): *at-ta ma-mi-ta / ša ʾur E-mar ú-ul te-de-e*, "You, don't you know the treaty of Emar?", cf. "Traditions", pp. 252-53.

If we remember that the kingdom of Carchemish played a special role in the Hittite administration and that its king was a kind of viceroy in northern Syria,<sup>23</sup> we can reconstruct the following hierarchy: king of Hatti > king of Carchemish > King's Sons fulfilling special missions > Chief of the Country probably residing in the city of Ashtata > king of Emar.

## 2. INTERNAL ORGANISATION

A remarkable text is the royal deed No. 17. It includes a historical preamble that records political unrest in the city of Emar. The first lines are worth translating here: "When Zu-Astarte, son of Baal-Kabar, was king of Emar, in the midst of Emar, soldiers of Emar, *hupšus* and brothers of the king, who carry the bronze spear in front of the king, made a conspiracy against the king" (l. 1-7). Then follows the account of how the conspiracy was spoiled by a certain Kunazu, who was obviously awarded the deed as a reward for his action.

Not only does this document show that dynastic unrest was part of the life in Emar<sup>24</sup> but it also establishes an interesting distinction between three categories of military personnel: soldiers of Emar, *hupšus* and brothers of the king. This tripartite structure finds a striking parallel in a Hittite document discovered at Ugarit in which king Hattushil distinguishes between "servants of the king of Ugarit, citizens of Ugarit and servants of the servants of the king of Ugarit".<sup>25</sup> In both cases we have a tripartite subdivision of the society: from the military point of view at Emar, from an overall point of view at Ugarit. "Soldiers of Emar" can apparently be paralleled with the "citizens of Ugarit". The "servants of the king" at Ugarit may have something to do with the "brothers of the king"

<sup>23</sup> Cf. M. Liverani, "Ras Shamra. II. Histoire", *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Suppl.*, IX/53 (1979), 1310-11, on the role of Carchemish. See also my "Pouvoirs locaux et pouvoirs dissidents en Syrie au II<sup>e</sup> millénaire avant notre ère", in A. Finet (Ed.), *Les pouvoirs locaux en Mésopotamie et dans les régions adjacentes*, Brussels 1982, p. 128.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. "Traditions", p. 253. On the Syrian organization of the state in general, see M. Liverani, "La royauté syrienne de l'âge du bronze récent", in P. Garelli (Ed.), *Le palais et la royauté*, Paris 1974, pp. 329-56, and on dynastic unrest *ibid.*, p. 351. See also M. Heltzer, *The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit*, Wiesbaden 1982.

<sup>25</sup> PRU, IV, 17.238, pp. 107-8. For another interpretation of this text see M. Liverani, *art. cit.* (n. 23), 1333-34. See also M. Heltzer, "Problems of the Social History of Syria in the Late Bronze Age", in M. Liverani (Ed.), *La Siria nel Tardo Bronzo*, Rome 1969, pp. 35-36.



at Emar, both being bound in one way or another to the person of the king. So the *hupšus* probably represent something similar to the “servants of the servants of the king” of Ugarit, i.e. a category of dependants. This would not be contradictory with what we know from other sources about the *hupšus*.<sup>26</sup>

The free population would thus have been divided into the immediate entourage of the king (or persons depending immediately on him), independent citizens (members of either rural or urban communities) and dependants of various kinds. The social structure, as perceived by the people of the time, appears thus quite similar in both Ugarit and Emar.

One or more bodies or councils of citizens were entrusted with some responsibilities in the city of Emar.

The most often mentioned is that of the *šibūtu*, the “Elders”, or, fully spelled, *šibūt<sup>URU</sup> Emar*, “Elders of the City of Emar”. They frequently appear in sale contracts, together with the god Ninurta, as owners of real estates.<sup>27</sup> It has to be noted, however, that they always sell and never buy, which may point to a special function of them. They may also be the qualified witnesses in whose presence a legal document is drawn up.<sup>28</sup> They are also involved in the performance of some rituals, such as the consecration of the *entu*-priestess (No. 369, 44.69.71) or of the *mašartu*-priestess (No. 370, 18’).

We do not know how they were appointed nor for what purpose but the way we see them behave allows us to hypothesize that they were kinds of representatives of the community of the free citizens. In the sale contracts mentioned above they apparently represent the civil authority while Ninurta represents the religious one. Together

<sup>26</sup> *Hupšus* seem to have been of a lower social rank, even if there is no agreement about their exact status, cf. M. Heltzer, *art. cit.* (n. 25), p. 34; T. Yamashita in *Ras Shamra Parallels*, II, Rome 1975, pp. 51-52; A.F. Rainey, *ibid.*, pp. 92, 103-4; O. Loretz, “Ugaritisch-hebräisch *hb/pš*, *bt hptt* — *hpšj*, *bjt hhpšj* | *wt*”, *UF*, 8 (1976), pp. 129-31; Id., “Die hebräischen Termini *hpšj* ‘Freigelassen, Freigelassener’ und *hpšb* ‘Freilassung’”, *UF*, 9 (1977), pp. 163-67. At Alalakh they formed the majority of the rural population, cf. F. Serangeli, “Le liste di censo di Alalakh IV”, *Vicino Oriente*, 1 (1978), pp. 99-131 *passim*.

<sup>27</sup> No. 2; 3; 4; 6; 9; 11; 126; 139; 144; 146; 148; 150. To these we must add three illegally excavated texts published by D. Arnaud, “La Syrie du moyen-Euphrate sous protectorat hittite: contrats de droit privé”, *Aula Orientalis*, 5 (1987), pp. 212-17.

<sup>28</sup> No. 93, a will; No. 181, another will to which they affix their seal; No. 205, settlement of debt of a deceased person made before Mutri-Teshub, probably the afore-mentioned King’s Son, and the Elders of the City.

they own the land of the community, i.e. the communal property. This is in sharp contrast with what we see in Ugarit where it is apparently the king that disposes of the communal land: many legal documents from Ugarit are deeds whereby the king takes a property from somebody to give it to someone else.<sup>29</sup>

A confirmation of the Elders as representatives of the community is provided by the fact that, in most instances, the contracts that record a land purchase from Ninurta and the Elders state that, in case of breach of the contract, a fine would be paid not to Ninurta and the Elders but to Ninurta and the City. "Elders" and "City" could thus be used interchangeably<sup>30</sup> or, to put it another way, the Elders would have been the acting body representing the whole community that forms the City.

Less frequently mentioned than the Elders are the *abḥū*, the "Brothers". They too appear together with other institutions as receiving a fine in the penalty clause of some contracts.<sup>31</sup> They, too, though in documents not found in Emar, can be qualified witnesses to legal documents (Munbaqa)<sup>32</sup> or can be mentioned together with a god — in this case Dagan — as owners of a purchased house (Hadidi).<sup>33</sup> Other analogies exist with the Elders: the seal of the Brothers is mentioned at Munbaqa and a fine can be paid to them there too.<sup>34</sup> These coincidences would suggest that the Brothers might be identical with the Elders. This does not seem to be the case however. The Brothers are never said to be the owners of any sold land, which is a major difference from the Elders. The latter, on the

<sup>29</sup> On the system of land tenure at Ugarit cf. M. Liverani, *art. cit.* (n. 23), 1342-43, and, on a more general level, the discussion by C. Zaccagnini, "Modo di produzione asiatico e Vicino Oriente antico. Appunti per una discussione", *Dialoghi di Archeologia*, n.s., 3 (1981), pp. 25-32.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. "Traditions", p. 253, n. 37.

<sup>31</sup> No. 14 (Brothers alone); 20 (with the City); 109 (with Ninurta); 110 (with Ninurta); 130 (with Ninurta); 172 (with the Palace).

<sup>32</sup> See W. Mayer, "Die Tontafelfunde von Tall Munbaqa 1984", *MDOG*, 118 (1986), p. 129.

<sup>33</sup> See R.H. Dornemann, "Tel Hadidi. A Millennium of Bronze Age Occupation", *AASOR*, 44 (1977), pp. 145, 146; Id., "Tell Hadidi: an Important Center of the Mitannian Period and Earlier", in J. Margueron (Ed.), *Le Moyen Euphrate*, Leiden 1980, p. 219.

<sup>34</sup> See W. von Soden, "Eine altbabylonische Urkunde (79 Mbq 15) aus Tall Munbaqa", *MDOG*, 114 (1982), pp. 71-77; W. Mayer, *art. cit.* (n. 32), pp. 129-30. At Hadidi a document is sealed by the Head or Great One (GAL) of the Brothers: R.H. Dornemann in J. Margueron, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 219.

other hand, do not act, in the published documents, as a law court, whereas the Brothers do. The Elders, together with the god Ninurta, receive the price of sold properties whereas the Brothers only receive a fixed amount of silver, usually one shekel, in some sale transactions.<sup>35</sup> Lastly, if we assume that “Elders” and “City” are synonymous, we must acknowledge that the City — and accordingly the Elders — are distinct from the Brothers, for, in some documents, the Brothers and the City are mentioned side by side as recipients of fines (No. 20, 25-26; 111, 26-27).

If these differences are not of a chronological nature or if they do not result from different scribal traditions or legal practices, it is safer to consider Elders and Brothers as distinct.

Another name that is found from time to time is that of the *rabbū*, the “Great Ones”. Sometimes they seem to act as a law court in the same way as the Brothers (No. 28; 252 in this case with Mutri-Teshub, a King’s Son). Another text, however, makes them more similar to the Elders: in No. 257 the Great Ones of the township of Šatappi are liable to swear an oath in a case of theft of slave. This is a typical example of what, according to other Syrian texts, the Elders were likely to be asked to do.<sup>36</sup> The identification, at least at Emar, is made difficult however, if not impossible, by the ritual text No. 370 (1.19’) that mentions the Elders and the Great Ones of the City of Emar together. An equation with the Brothers does not give rise to such difficulties.

We thus have, in all likelihood, at least two institutions representing two different components of the society at Emar. The Elders would represent — not in a democratic way! — the community of the free citizens — the City.<sup>37</sup> The Brothers would be the institutional expression of the rulers — the Great Ones of the kingdom. Such a reconstruction would tally with the above proposed division of the society: the Elders (and the City) would correspond to the independent citizens among whom the “soldiers of Emar” were recruited; the

<sup>35</sup> No. 20; 109; 110; 111; 171. Also at Munbaqa: W. Mayer, *art. cit.* (n. 32), p. 130.

<sup>36</sup> See my paper, quoted in n. 23, p. 132.

<sup>37</sup> The function of *ḥaṣannu*, “mayor”, is known and could have something to do with the Elders. Unfortunately the texts do not allow any hypothesis on the role of this official. Six persons bear the title of *ḥaṣannu* (see No. 127, 14; 148, 29; 150, 36; 157, 10’; 253, 23; 254, 4; some are qualified by the title of ‘son of the mayor’, which is probably equivalent to ‘mayor’: No. 241, 3’b; 368, 3). On the *ḥaṣannu* in Syria, cf. my paper quoted in n. 23, pp. 122 and 130.

Brothers (and the Great Ones) would be the immediate entourage of the king, precisely called “brothers of the king” in the above mentioned text (No. 17). The dependants, of course, are not represented.

Such a use of the word “brother” could point to a system rather close to a tribal organization as assumed by D. Arnaud.<sup>38</sup> We should note, however, that the usage of the word “brother” to designate the royal entourage is not restricted to Emar. We find it, farther west, in a letter from the ruler of Qadesh addressed to the king of Ugarit. The writer clearly equates the Great Ones with his “brothers”.<sup>39</sup> It is not impossible either that Idrimi, when he speaks of his brothers in his autobiographical inscription (line 7), is referring to his counsellors rather than to members of his family.

The king seems to play a much less prominent role in these texts than in those of Ugarit. This is probably due, partly at least, to the fact that few tablets come from the palace itself. We do not have the large amount of administrative texts or the diplomatic correspondence that, at Ugarit, inform us on the royal prerogative. Most of our evidence on the role of the king comes from juridical documents.

The penalty clause of many of these documents provides that a fine would be paid to the Palace.<sup>40</sup> In one instance the Palace is mentioned with the City (No. 11, 33) and in another case with the Brothers (No. 172, 7'). These are obvious exceptions and we would probably be right in considering that the texts including a penalty clause that mentions the Palace form a category distinct from those where Ninurta and the Elders, or Ninurta and the Brothers, are mentioned. The nature of this distinction, however, is enigmatic. We do not see the king acting in any particular capacity in these texts. It is right that persons known to have been members of the royal family — including perhaps the king himself without any title identifying him as such — are often witnesses or even parties to these documents, but we may find members of the royal family witnessing other documents as well. Only once is the royal title appended to one of these names: in No. 256, an adoption contract whose first witness is king Zu-Ashtarti.

<sup>38</sup> “Traditions”, pp. 255-56.

<sup>39</sup> *Ugaritica*, V, No. 38, lines 8-10: *a-na pa-ni LÚ.MEŠrabūtīMEŠ-ia aḥḥīMEŠ-ia a-kán-na / aq-te-bi*, “Before the Great Ones, my borthers, I spoke as follows”.

<sup>40</sup> No. 8, 40; 10, 18; 11, 35; 94, 21; 95, 15'; 97, 16'; 125, 21; 137, 60; 138, 46; 140, 19; 141, 21; 142, 12; 158, 23; 172, 6'; 253, 15.

It is possible that the proximity of Carchemish reduced substantially the attributions of the local king. As a matter of fact, in a number of cases where a king is mentioned by his title only, the reference seems to be to the king of Carchemish rather than to the king of Emar.<sup>41</sup>

### 3. FOREIGN RELATIONS

As Emar is famous for having been a river port of international significance, it is no little surprise to discover that most of these texts are concerned with local matters.

Foreigners are mentioned in several instances, however, as well as relations with sometimes distant countries. For instance, commercial relations existed with Assyria as is shown by text No. 127 that involves some merchants from this area,<sup>42</sup> and as is probably confirmed by a mention of the weight of the land of Subaru in a legal transaction (No. 23, 2). In addition, the intellectual influence of Assyria is noticeable at Emar as D. Arnaud already pointed out.<sup>43</sup> This is the more surprising as Emar is tightly controlled by the Hittites at the time of these texts and as the Hittites were on rather hostile terms with the Assyrians in the 13th c.

Less surprising are the relations with Babylonia. D. Arnaud has called attention to a kind of trading business run by Alazaya and his wife Tattašše in close association with Babylonia.<sup>44</sup> It is from their archives that the above mentioned contract dated to the 2nd year of the Babylonian king Melišihu was found.<sup>45</sup> On the other hand some stations along the river on the way towards Southern Mesopotamia are mentioned, for instance Tuttul (No. 274, 2) — probably Tuttul on the Balih — and the land of Suhu (No. 32, 29; 263, 19. 22) near the modern Iraqi-Syrian border.<sup>46</sup>

Anatolia is not absent of course. Hittites are mentioned (No. 112, 19; 115, 23; 221, 9. 17), as well as the gods of Hatti in the letter No. 271, 3'. A man from Arzawa is also known at Emar (No. 368, 5).

A certain Pahura may bear an Egyptian name (No. 8, 28).

<sup>41</sup> E.g. No. 201, 52; 212, 7. 13. 14; 257, 3. 4. 6; 264, 24.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. my paper quoted in n. 52.

<sup>43</sup> "Traditions", pp. 250-51.

<sup>44</sup> "Traditions", p. 256.

<sup>45</sup> No. 26, cf. above p. 24. For another text from the same archive dealing with Babylonian trade (No. 27), see below pp. 34-35.

<sup>46</sup> On Suhu: N. Haklar, "Die Stellung Suhis in die Geschichte. Eine Zwischenbilanz", *O.A.*, 22 (1983), pp. 25-36.

From the Syrian regions, we hear of Ebla (No. 254, 2), Qadesh (No. 277, 5), Palmyra (No. 21, 16. 18),<sup>47</sup> Salhi (No. 23, 3. 14, and maybe 277, 6),<sup>48</sup> and, in a text found outside of regular excavations, Sidon.<sup>49</sup> Aleppo is strangely absent.

An interesting text is No. 263: a report to the Chief of the Country about events in the land of Suhu. Two Ahlamū from Suhu arrived and told that the ruler of Suhu had plundered a city called Qatna and made much booty there. This city of Qatna is interpreted by D. Arnaud as the Syrian Qatna, modern Mishrife.<sup>50</sup> This would have, as D. Arnaud points out, far-reaching implications for the ability of a ruler from the Euphrates region to cross the desert, necessarily through Palmyra. We could add that this, put together with the reference to the presence of Ahlamū in Suhu, would have some bearing on the problem of the first stages of the Aramaean expansion as well. The possibility cannot be ruled out, however, that this name of Qatna is just a variant spelling of that of Qatni,<sup>51</sup> a city in the Habur area known as Qattunān in the Mari texts. This would unfortunately reduce the significance of this piece of evidence.

The commercial activities of Emar are much less documented than we might have expected. I shall be commenting elsewhere on the problem of the port (*kāru*) and its relationship to trade.<sup>52</sup> Merchants are almost never mentioned as such. The word *tamkāru* occurs in one text only (No. 127, 18. 19). D. Arnaud would find its feminine form — a hapax — in No. 25, 4: *tām-kar<sup>1</sup>-ra<sup>1</sup>-tu<sub>4</sub>*. This reading, however, is rather doubtful. The second part of the DAM sign looks rather like TUR (cf. TUR in line 21), so that we should probably read MÍ.TUR = *ṣubārtu*, “servant”. The following signs are rather carelessly written but they could be É A TÀS MA TUM, which we could tentatively understand as *bīt Atašmatum*, the whole phrase possibly meaning “a servant of the house of Atashmatum”. The interpretation “merchant lady” is very doubtful anyway.

Another puzzling text is the short note No. 27. Here is the texts as

<sup>47</sup> Cf. D. Arnaud, “Emar et Palmyre”, *AAAS*, 32 (1982), pp. 83-88.

<sup>48</sup> On Salhi (or Zalhi): H. Klengel, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 5.

<sup>49</sup> D. Arnaud, *art. cit.* (n. 15), Text III, p. 186, 1. 16 and 18.

<sup>50</sup> D. Arnaud, *art. cit.* (n. 47), p. 84.

<sup>51</sup> On Qatni: S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, AOAT, 6, Kevelaer & Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970, p. 285; K. Nashef, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittellassyrischen Zeit*, RGTC, 5, Wiesbaden 1982, p. 221.

<sup>52</sup> “Le sufète du port d’Emar”, in P. Talon and M. Lebeau (Eds), *Acta assyriologica archaeologica in honorem André Finet* (in the press).

transliterated by D. Arnaud: 6 ANŠE<sup>mes</sup> / ša 1SU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD / KI KÙ.BABBAR *te<sub>4</sub>-bu* / *mi-ta ha-al-qa* / KASKAL ú-šal-lim / *bal-tu* Ê EN-š<sub>u</sub> / *i-ru-bu*. The translation, according to the editor, would be “6 donkeys of Erib(a)-Marduk sunk with the silver; death and lost the journey repaid; alive they entered the house of their lord”.

One does not see what reality lies behind these words. How could donkeys have sunk? They are usually used for land transportation. Why did the journey repay the damage? Does that mean that not everything got lost and enough of the lading was preserved to cover the expenses? What does the Gospel-like tone of the last sentence mean?

The clue could be given, I think, by this last sentence. *Erēbu* in business documents often means “to answer for something”, “to serve as a pledge”, and *bal-tu* not only means “alive” but also “survivor”. One accordingly suspects that somebody escaped the disaster and subsequently had to surrender his freedom to the owner of the lost goods. This person is probably the head of the expedition that, given the small number of donkeys involved, must have been rather small. We may thus imagine that somebody was entrusted by a merchant with the organization of a trading expedition, that he lost his wares and that, therefore, he had to work in the household of the commissioning merchant in order to compensate for the lost capital. The grammar of the last clause is unfortunately uncertain and so of little help. The verb *i-ru-bu* is in the plural but the suffix of EN-š<sub>u</sub>, which refers to the subject of the verb, is in the singular.

The first sign of the essential word — *te<sub>4</sub>-bu* — is very badly written according to the hand copy and one can wonder whether we should not read *šur<sup>l</sup>*, hence KÙ.BABBAR *šurpu*, “refined silver”.<sup>53</sup> *Mi-ta* and *ha-al-qa* could be feminine statives, used as a kind of neuter with donkeys and silver considered together as the subject. The text could thus be translated as follows: “6 donkeys of Erib(a)-Marduk together with the refined silver perished; they are lost; he (i.e., probably, the head of the caravan) completed the journey; (this) survivor entered the house(hold) of his master (as a substitute for the lost capital)”. Given the name of the owner of the silver, this would be another illustration of the trade with Babylonia.

<sup>53</sup> The word is used several times in the Emar texts, e.g. No. 125, 13, or 137, 11.

These are only a few comments on the richness yielded by this new publication. Religious texts were not touched upon here, although they shed an entirely new light on cultic practices in inland Syria. D. Arnaud must be thanked for his pioneering work on often very difficult texts. Once completed his work will take its place, along with J. Nougayrol's work on Ugarit, among the major contributions to our knowledge of ancient Syria.



## GREGORY THAUMATURGOS' PARAPHRASE OF ECCLESIASTES\*

BY

JOHN JARICK

When the Christian Church appropriated the Hebrew Bible, christening it "the Old Testament", they received as part of the collection of sacred Jewish writings "the words of Koheleth" — the little book of Ecclesiastes.

This book had not taken an unquestioned place in the canonical Scriptures. Indeed, it was a matter of rabbinic discussion at the time when the Christian Church was just beginning as to whether this book should be employed in public reading and exposition or perhaps even in private reading and study. Some of the sages wished to suppress the words of Koheleth because they were "self-contradictory" or "smacked of heresy",<sup>1</sup> but ultimately his words were not suppressed, because other sages were able to explain away the difficulties by means of skilful interpretations.<sup>2</sup> Reservations as to the sacred character of the book continued,<sup>3</sup> however, and in his fourth-

\* This paper presents some results from the author's doctoral research at the University of Melbourne. The counsel and encouragement of the supervisor of this work, Professor Takamitsu Muraoka, is gratefully acknowledged.

<sup>1</sup> The first reason is given in the talmudic tractate *Shabbath* (30b), the second in the Midrashim to Ecclesiastes (1:3 and 11:9) and Leviticus (23:10). A closely related debate is recorded in the mishnaic tractate *Yadayim* (3:5).

<sup>2</sup> *Shabbath* (30b) records that upon closer examination the sages found "a reconciliation", namely that Koheleth "begins with words of Torah and ends with words of Torah". The problematic nature of the plain sense of his words was overcome by midrashic and allegorical expositions (for example, if he seemed to be saying that there was no value in anything under the sun, then he meant that there was value in the study of the Torah, which was created before the sun), and the true meaning was shown to be in perfect harmony with Scripture as a whole.

<sup>3</sup> The traditions do not supply us with precise historical information as to when and how Ecclesiastes was "canonised" — the rabbinical discussions have the character of a scholarly controversy which in the end had to confirm a *fait accompli*, that the Jewish community had already accepted the book of Ecclesiastes as part of the collection of sacred Hebrew writings (see Sid Z. Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture: the talmudic and midrashic evidence* [Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1976], pp. 120-124; Roger Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church and its Background in Early Judaism* [London: SPCK, 1985], pp. 316-317, 320-321) — but they do demonstrate just how serious and persistent were the

century commentary Jerome gives the impression that there were still Jews who were saying that the book ought not to be circulating because it asserts false teachings.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, Koheleth's words had gained and maintained a place in the Hebrew Bible, and consequently, under the Greek title of "Ecclesiastes", came to be part of the Christian Bible as well. But there is a great silence about this particular biblical book in the early Christian community. Not one of the New Testament writers ever quotes from Ecclesiastes with an impressive "It is written..." — indeed, none of them ever betrays any familiarity with Ecclesiastes at all, with the possible exception of Paul's statement to the Romans that "creation was subjected to futility",<sup>5</sup> which may be an allusion to Koheleth's dominant theme. Similarly, Ecclesiastes does not seem to have been in great favour with the Apostolic Fathers, for the only trace of it in their writings is in the seventh mandate of the Shepherd of Hermas, where the shepherd instructs the visionary to "fear the Lord and keep his commandments", in words closely resembling the "conclusion" of Ecclesiastes.<sup>6</sup>

In the third century the Fathers of the Church were beginning to use isolated verses of Ecclesiastes as proof texts,<sup>7</sup> so the book was gradually being appropriated by Christianity. Hippolytus of Rome

doubts about the correctness of Ecclesiastes' inclusion in the Bible. Quite a number of the pious must have concluded, along with Rabbi Simeon ben Menasia in the second century, that it was not "composed under divine inspiration" but was "only the wisdom of Solomon" (*Tosephta Yadayim* 2:14).

<sup>4</sup> *Corpus Christianorum*, Series Latina, vol. 72 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1959), pp. 360, 361 (comments on 12:13, 14).

<sup>5</sup> Romans 8:20, in which Paul uses *ματαιότης*, a key word in LXX Ecclesiastes (for Koheleth's *הבל*). There are in fact a number of Old Testament books which are never cited in the New Testament writings (the others are Song of Songs, Esther, and Ezra, and it is doubtful whether there are any quotations or reminiscences from Judges, Ezekiel, Nahum, Zephaniah, Ruth, Lamentations, Nehemiah, and Chronicles), and it is readily understandable why Ecclesiastes would be one of these: its unique character would hardly commend it for prominent use by those who were overwhelmingly concerned with the gospel message, and it evidently did not affect the style or influence the thought of those who had searched the Scriptures for christological material.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *φοβήθητι τὸν κύριον καὶ φύλασσε τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ* (*Shepherd*, Mandate 7:1) and *τὸν θεὸν φοβοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ φύλασσε* (Ecclesiastes 12:13). Some other possible allusions to Ecclesiastes are listed by J. Allenbach *et al.*, eds., *Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique*, vol. 1 (Des origènes à Clément d'Alexandrie et Tertullien) (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975), p. 210.

<sup>7</sup> The occurrences are listed in *Biblia Patristica*, vol. 2 (Le troisième siècle [Origène excepté]) (1977), pp. 208-210.

and the great biblical scholar Origen wrote the first Christian commentaries on the book, but these highly significant works have been preserved only in a few fragments. Origen also made use of particular verses from Ecclesiastes in other of his voluminous writings,<sup>8</sup> and it is evident that he did not reject the study of this book in his academy — in contrast to the way in which the earlier Christians seem to have treated it.

Two of the men who studied under Origen<sup>9</sup> — Dionysius of Alexandria and Gregory Thaumaturgos — produced interpretive works on Ecclesiastes. Dionysius wrote a commentary, but only on the opening chapters of the book, and only fragments have survived.<sup>10</sup> Gregory, however, penned a complete paraphrase, and his work is still extant. As such, *Our holy father Gregory Thaumaturgos' Paraphrase of Solomon's "Ecclesiastes"*<sup>11</sup> is the earliest systematic Christian treat-

<sup>8</sup> The occurrences are listed in *Biblia Patristica*, vol. 3 (Origène) (1980), pp. 213, 214.

<sup>9</sup> It has recently been claimed by Joseph Wilson Trigg, *Origen. The Bible and Philosophy in the Third-century Church* (London: SCM Press, 1985), p. 167, that "in all probability" Gregory Thaumaturgos did not study under Origen and did not even know him, the basis for this claim being that the *Panegyric to Origen* was delivered by a man named Theodore. But Trigg's assertion requires that we assume that Eusebius of Caesarea, the disciple of Origen's disciple Pamphilus, was making a scarcely conceivable error in reporting that among the foreign pupils of Origen "as especially distinguished we know to have been Theodore, who was the selfsame person as that renowned bishop in our day, Gregory, and his brother Athenodore ... Five whole years they continued with him, and made such progress in divine things that while still young both of them were deemed worthy of the episcopate in the churches of Pontus" (*Ecclesiastical History* VI.30). Eusebius' words are quoted in Jacques-Paul Migne, ed. *Patrologiae Graecae*, vol. 10 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1978 [a reprint of the Paris edition of 1857]), col. 973; cf. the testimony of Jerome in cols. 977, 978 and of Socrates in col. 980. Also worth mentioning in this context is the unusual  $\eta$   $\epsilon\iota$  combination, found in both the *Panegyric to Origen* (ch. 6 — Migne, col. 1072) and the *Paraphrase of Ecclesiastes* (7:26 — Migne, col. 1008), which lends support to the view that the same man wrote both works (and the other contender for author of the *Paraphrase*, Gregory of Nazianzus [see below, n. 11], being a Father of the fourth century, could not have been the author of the *Panegyric*).

<sup>10</sup> They are printed in Migne, cols. 1577-1588. Charles Lett Feltoe, ed., *The Letters and Other Remains of Dionysius of Alexandria* (Cambridge University Press, 1904), pp. 208-227, includes some additional fragments.

<sup>11</sup> This is the title given in Migne, cols. 987, 988: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατὴρ ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ Μετάφρασις εἰς τὸν Ἑκκλησιαστικὸν τοῦ Σολομῶντος. Actually, most of the manuscripts assign the work to Gregory of Nazianzus rather than to Gregory Thaumaturgos, but both Jerome (*Famous Men*, 65) and Rufinus (*Ecclesiastical History*, book 7, ch. 25) are sure that it is an authentic work of the latter Gregory (see Migne, cols. 977 and 979). The text as published in Migne (cols. 987-1018) is divided into chapters, but not verses (though the accompanying

ment of Ecclesiastes which has come down to us, and accordingly it invites investigation as a document offering first-hand insights into the way in which the Church sought to come to terms with this peculiar biblical book, the cause of so much puzzlement for Rabbis and Fathers alike.<sup>12</sup>

The man who produced this first Christian version of Ecclesiastes had been born in Neocaesarea in Pontus about the year 213. The son of pagan parents, Gregory had travelled in his youth to various cities in order to pursue studies aimed at preparing him for a career in law, until at Caesarea in Palestine he came under the influence of Origen, who had recently opened a school there after leaving Alexandria. Converted to Christianity and imbued with a love for the great teacher and his philosophy, Gregory returned to Neocaesarea, where he became that city's first bishop — an office in which he was so successful that many legends grew up concerning miraculous powers on his part, such that Christian tradition has given him the surname Θαυματουργός, “wonder-worker”. After an earnest and faithful ministry of many years, Gregory died about the year 270.<sup>13</sup>

Some time during his years as Bishop of Neocaesarea, or perhaps already as a student in Caesarea, Gregory set about paraphrasing the book of Ecclesiastes. It may be that some of his flock were having difficulties with this book — perhaps Gregory had heard it said by those under his spiritual care that Ecclesiastes was not a Christian book, or perhaps some had interpreted the book in ways with which

Latin translation includes verse numbering); for the purposes of this study, I will cite the paraphrase in terms of the versification of the Hebrew Bible.

<sup>12</sup> For this reason it is surprising that Gregory's paraphrase has been virtually ignored by scholars. Accounts of the history of interpretation of Ecclesiastes often completely overlook this work, and the only previous study devoted to it is the recent and brief paper of K.W. Noakes, “The Metaphrase on Ecclesiastes of Gregory Thaumaturgus”, in *Studia Patristica*, vol. 15 (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der althristlichen Literatur 128) (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1984), pp. 196-199.

<sup>13</sup> For an outline of what little we know about the life of Gregory Thaumaturgos, see the introduction in S.D.F. Salmond, tr., *The Works of Gregory Thaumaturgus, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Archelaus* (Ante-Nicene Christian Library 20) (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1882), pp. 1-4. The traditional picture of Gregory's career is given in Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater, eds., *Butler's Lives of the Saints* (Westminster: Christian Classics, 1956), vol. 4, pp. 362-364. The various early references to Gregory are quoted in Migne, cols. 973-982, after some *notitia* on his life and works, cols. 963-972. On the legendary material, see William Telfer, “The Latin Life of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus” (in *Journal of Theological Studies* 31 [1930], pp. 142-155, 354-362) and “The Cultus of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus” (in *Harvard Theological Review* 29 [1936], pp. 225-344).

their bishop could not agree. On the other hand, it may be that Gregory himself was particularly fascinated by "the words of Koheleth", and wished to render them in a form which would make them readily accessible to a people who had been overlooking them.

It is not difficult to see why Gregory should have set himself the task of re-expressing in readily understandable form a book which would have appeared to many to be the most difficult to understand in all of the Scriptures. In his *Panegyric to Origen*, delivered when he "graduated" from his beloved teacher's academy, Gregory had confessed his admiration for Origen's ability to

interpret and make clear whatever was dark and enigmatical, such as are many utterances of the sacred voices, whether because it is God's wont to speak thus to man, that the Divine word may not enter in bare and unveiled to some soul unworthy, as most are; or else, although every oracle of God is naturally most clear and simple, yet by reason of time and antiquity it has come to seem indistinct and dark to us who have revolted from God and have unlearned how to hear;<sup>14</sup>

and he had expressed the hope that in the future he might bear "the fruits and the sheaves of these seeds" which he had received from Origen.<sup>15</sup> In interpreting and making clear the dark and enigmatical utterances of Koheleth, Gregory is fulfilling his hope; he is following in his mentor's footsteps,<sup>16</sup> enabling people to hear a sacred voice they had been unable to hear aright.

The voice in which Koheleth had been speaking to the early Christians was that of the Septuagint, which in the case of Ecclesiastes is a particularly literal translation of the Hebrew text — in fact, it is

<sup>14</sup> William Metcalfe's translation of the *Panegyric* in his *Origen the Teacher* (London: SPCK, 1907), p. 81. The Greek text is in Migne, col. 1093.

<sup>15</sup> Metcalfe, p. 87; Migne, col. 1101.

<sup>16</sup> Indeed, shortly after Gregory had left Origen's academy, the master had written a letter to his graduate, in which he admonished him to seek to uncover the meaning of the Scriptures: "Do you then, my son, diligently apply yourself to the reading of the sacred Scriptures. Apply yourself, I say. For we who read the things of God need much application, lest we should say or think anything too rashly about them. And applying yourself thus to the study of the things of God, with faithful prejudgments such as are well pleasing to God, knock on its locked door, and it will be opened to you by the porter, of whom Jesus says, 'To him the porter opens' [John 10:3]. And applying yourself thus to the divine study, seek aright, and with unwavering trust in God, the meaning of the holy Scriptures, which so many have missed" (Frederick Crombie's translation of the letter in his *The Writings of Origen*, vol. 1 [Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. 10] [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1869], p. 390; the Greek text is in Migne, vol. 11, col. 92).

so literal that it looks suspiciously like the work of Aquila, who had aimed at a faithful and consistent representation of the Hebrew original in opposition to the widely divergent Septuagint. "Septuagint" Ecclesiastes betrays prominent Aquilan characteristics, notably the representation of **אֵל** by **σύν** even when the former is merely functioning as the sign of the accusative, the representation of the prepositional *beth* by **ἐν** regardless of the sense of the passage, and the absence of the particles **δέ** and **γάρ** (which are so common in Greek literature and in the Septuagint).<sup>17</sup> It may not be Aquila's final version of Ecclesiastes, as it does not tally exactly with extracts of that work which are known to us,<sup>18</sup> but it does seem as though the earlier Septuagint translators had neglected to translate a book which in their time and place may not have been in favour, and so a translation made by a later hand had to be incorporated into the collection<sup>19</sup> — or that the translation which they had made fell out of favour itself and was replaced by one which was felt to be preferable to the original Septuagint version.<sup>20</sup> But whoever is responsible for what came to be transmitted as the Septuagint text of Ecclesiastes, the fact is that it is written in a style quite foreign to Greek literature, and for that reason, too — in addition to the strangeness of its ideas in a biblical context — it was an eminent candidate for re-expression in readily-understandable Greek.

<sup>17</sup> Robert B. Salters, "The Book of Ecclesiastes: Studies in the Versions and the History of Exegesis" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of St. Andrews, 1973), pp. 18, 19, lists a number of other features of Aquila's translation of the Hebrew Bible which show up in Ecclesiastes: *lamed* with the Infinitive represented by **τοῦ** with the Infinitive, *lamed* with a Noun by Article and Noun wherever **εἰς** would be out of place, and **אֵל** by **καὶ γὰρ** to distinguish it from **וְ/καὶ**. Beckwith, p. 331, n. 109, however, notes that LXX Ecclesiastes lacks some other marks of Aquila's translation-technique: it does not render **אֵל** by **καὶ καίγε** or **ἦ** by **καίπερ**, it has a few loose renderings, and it translates nine Hebrew expressions in more than one way.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Richard R. Ottley, *A Handbook to the Septuagint* (London: Methuen, 1920), p. 24. Beckwith, in his Appendix "The Four Greek Versions of Ecclesiastes in Origen's 'Hexapla'" (pp. 472-477), argues that the version listed as "Aquila" in the Hexapla is in reality the original LXX version, which has been displaced from LXX by the actual version of Aquila (or "proto-Aquila").

<sup>19</sup> This is the conclusion of Dominique Barthélemy, cited with approval by Salters, p. 21; and by Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 82.

<sup>20</sup> This is the conclusion of Beckwith, pp. 302-304 (cf. Svend Holm-Nielsen, "The Book of Ecclesiastes and the Interpretation of it in Jewish and Christian Theology", in *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute* 10 [1976], p. 58), who notes that Theodotion's version of Daniel ousted the original LXX Daniel as a preferable version of that book.

Certainly on this linguistic level Gregory succeeds masterfully. Here for the first time Koheleth is presented as speaking in a fluent Greek voice. Gregory's paraphrastic enterprise frees him from the Semitic forms to which the earlier Greek translator had felt himself bound, so all foreign stylistic elements (such as the "Aquilan" σύν and ἐν) can be swept aside. Superlatives are now formed in the standard Greek way, rather than in the "futility of futilities" style, people can be referred to as "people" rather than as "the sons of man", and actual adverbs are employed in the place of nominal phrases.<sup>21</sup> A full range of common Greek literary particles, such as μέν and δέ, ἀλλά and γάρ, are now brought into frequent play to make for a smoother progression of thought.<sup>22</sup>

In fact each verse now appears to flow on harmoniously from the preceding verse, no matter how disjointed some of the transitions may seem to be in the original Ecclesiastes — Koheleth typically places contrasting thoughts side by side, or abruptly changes from one topic to another, but Gregory just as typically is able to present each new idea as being closely linked with what has come before.<sup>23</sup> If

<sup>21</sup> Some examples of such de-semitisation are ὡς κενὰ καὶ ἀνόνητα ... and πάνυ ματαίως for ματαιότης ματαιότητων in 1:2 and 12:8 respectively; ἄνθρωποι for οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, 2:3 *et al.*; ἔργον for τὰ ποιήματα χειρῶν σου, 5:5; ματαίως for ἐν ματαιότητι, 6:4; τὰ προστυχόντα for πάντα ὅσα ἂν εὕρῃ ἡ χεὶρ σου τοῦ ποιῆσαι ὡς ἡ δύναμις σου, 9:10. Note also the use of comparative adjectives for ἀγαθός "A" ὑπὲρ "B" statements (αἰρετώτερος, 4:3; 7:2; βελτίων, 4:9; ἀμείνων, 5:4; 7:10; δυνατώτερος, 9:18), and the expression "the greatest good" for οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν εἰ μὴ statements (τὰ μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ, 3:12; τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν, 8:15; cf. τὸ τέλειον ἀγαθόν, 2:24).

<sup>22</sup> An excellent example of Gregory's Greek style in this regard can be seen in his handling of the terse Catalogue of Times in 3:1-8. Where LXX repeats the simple καί, Gregory has εἴτα (vv. 2,7,8), καί (vv. 3,4), τε ... καί (v. 3), νῦν μὲν ... νῦν δέ (vv. 5,6), ποτὲ μὲν ... ποτὲ δέ (v. 5), ἄλλοτε ... ἄλλοτε (v. 7), and ποτὲ μὲν ... ἄλλοτε δέ (v. 8).

<sup>23</sup> In 4:4, 5, for example, Koheleth comments that all human work, motivated as it is by jealousy, is futile and pointless, but then places in juxtaposition with this a proverbial saying on the ruinous effects of doing no work at all; Gregory, however, treats v. 5 not as a contrast to the thought of v. 4 but as an elucidation of v. 4's talk concerning jealousy, noting that this passion can consume the person who allows it to take control of him. When Koheleth draws his case study on a foolish old king and a wise young king (4:13-16) to a close and moves on to new matters, Gregory does his best to make the transition somewhat less abrupt by beginning the new section with a δέ and by styling it as advice analogous to what the foolish old king should have borne in mind — *viz.*, advice to be careful to lead one's life righteously, addressed to the leader of the ἐκκλησία. The various proverbial sayings collected in Chapter Ten do not appear to be closely connected with each other, but in the paraphrase each verse is well linked to its neighbours, not just by means of Gregory's frequently employed particle δέ (which appears in all but three verses in

it is necessary on occasion to rearrange the order in which Koheleth puts forward his thoughts, so that a more logical sequence of thought might be achieved, then Gregory is not afraid to do so.<sup>24</sup> Nor is he reluctant to introduce additional concepts into the text, matching or contrasting the concepts actually expressed, in order to create a more finely balanced composition of ideas — in fact the frequency with which he couples a word or expression with a synthetical or antithetical word or expression suggests that such a feature is a favourite compositional device of his.<sup>25</sup> He has also put his mind to overcoming the repetitiousness of the original work, in which certain key words and phrases frequently recur, almost to the point of monotony — Gregory is very inventive with the number of variations he can produce for Koheleth's stock expressions, such as "futility" ("emptiness, uselessness, absurdity, deceitfulness, wretchedness, wickedness, folly, falsehood, ...") and "under the sun" ("on the earth, among human beings, down here, in the lower regions, ...").<sup>26</sup> And if the language of the original appears to be too

the chapter), but also in terms of the ideas expressed. In 12:9, 10 Koheleth is suddenly spoken of in the third person, but Gregory has him continue to speak in the first person, describing his own activities as naturally as he had done in Chapter Two and going on to present his concluding remarks as a perfectly fitting finale to the book.

<sup>24</sup> The Catalogue of Times (3:1-8) is made to conform to a pattern of good times being replaced by bad times, summarised by Gregory in v. 8 as "human affairs rapidly change from supposed goods to acknowledged evils", which necessitates a reversal of Koheleth's order of events in vv. 3, 5a, and 7b concerning killing/healing, wrecking/building, scattering/gathering, and hushing/speaking (it would also seem to call for such a reversal in the case of weeping/laughing and mourning/dancing in v. 4, but Gregory's careful structuring of his material appears to break down at that point). In 9:2 Koheleth lists pairs of character types with the good in first place and the bad in second, with the exception of the final pair, where the better character comes second; Gregory structures his list in two sentences, placing the good consistently in first place in the first sentence and in second place in the second sentence. In 5:16 Gregory inverts the two halves of the verse in order that the line of thought of the previous verse (concerning the suffering which a hoarder of wealth brings upon himself) can be smoothly continued, and in 7:6 he places the matter already familiar to the reader (the noise made by fools) first, introducing the new matter (the sound of thorns) after it.

<sup>25</sup> For example, *θεράπων* and *θεράπεινα*, 2:7; *δασυμόφοροι* and *δορυφόροι*, 2:8; *σοφίας γυνῶσις* and *κτῆσις ἀνδρείας*, 2:21; *εὐθυμία* and *εὐποιΐα*, 3:12; *λαβόντα τὴν σύστασιν* and *ἐξόντα τὴν ἀνάλυσιν*, 3:20; *μῆκος ἁπειρον* and *βάθος ἀμέτρητον*, 7:24; *ὅλα καὶ ὅσα*, 8:9. A good example of Gregory's love for counter-balanced expressions is found in 4:11, where he juxtaposes an increase in good fortune with a decrease in bad fortune, and balances what is noticeable by day against what is noticeable by night; or in 12:3, where he contrasts the beginning of activity on the part of heavenly powers with the ceasing of activity on the part of earthly powers.



prosaic or unimaginative, Gregory is happy to come forward with a more descriptive or colourful way of saying things.<sup>27</sup>

In this paraphrastic exercise, Gregory is not concerned to establish with accuracy what Koheleth originally said. It might be expected that a person who was trained in the academy of Origen (the scholar who produced the Hexapla and who was not afraid to emend the authoritative Septuagint where it was inaccurate when compared both with the Hebrew text and with other Greek translations) would have some interest — even when engaged in “paraphrasing” and not “translating” — in making his rendering of a biblical book as faithful to the original as possible, without sacrificing a good Greek style. But there is no clear indication that Gregory took account of the Hebrew text,<sup>28</sup> or drew on the insights of someone who could, in producing his version of Ecclesiastes: time after time he takes up ideas which are suggested by the Septuagint but which are not

<sup>26</sup> For the concept of “futility”, Gregory does sometimes employ μάταιος (e.g., 2:1, 17; 3:19), but he also utilises such words as κενός, ἀνόνητος, 1:2; ἀτοπία, 1:15; ἄχρηστος, δολερός, ἄθλιος, 2:26; πονηρία, 6:2; ἄνοια, 6:11; πλάνη, 8:14. He never reproduces the expression ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον, preferring such ways of speaking as περὶ ἡῶν, 1:3; 2:17; πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, 1:9 (cf. ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων, 2:11; ἐν ἀνθρώποις, 4:1; κατὰ ἀνθρώπους, 4:3); κάτω, 1:14; ἐν τοῖς κάτω μέρεσι, 3:16. When he tires of a repetitious Kohelethine expression (e.g., ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον in 2:18, 19, 20, 22), he simply ignores it altogether. When σοφία and γνῶσις appear together three times in quick succession in 1:16-18, Gregory employs them only once (v. 18); similarly, when εὕρισκω is found three times in one verse (8:17), Gregory is content with just one occurrence. On the other hand, when δίδωμι occurs three times within the one verse (2:26), he offers τυγχάνω, θεήλατος, πλεονεξία, and δῶρον. When Koheleth says “more than all who were before me in Jerusalem” twice (2:7,9), Gregory first says “more than people in earlier times” (v. 7) before speaking of “outdoing all the men who had ruled over Jerusalem before me” (v. 9); and when Koheleth says “they have no comforter” twice (4:1), Gregory speaks of “those who ought to help them, or on the whole ought to comfort them in all the troubles that press down upon them from every side”. Koheleth’s repetition of the concept “all your days of futility” in 9:9 is skilfully handled by Gregory’s “pass your empty life in an empty way” (ματαίως τὸν μάταιον πάρελθε βίον).

<sup>27</sup> Thus the prosaic πορεύομαι, for example, can be rendered by ὑπαπαίρω, ἐμπίπτω, ἄπειμι, 1:4; ἐκδίδωμι, 1:7; πλανάομαι, 2:14; ἐκκλησιάζω, 4:17; ἀπέρχομαι, 5:14; ἐρεθίζω, ἐξίστημι, ἔλκω, 6:9; βαδίζω, φέρομαι, 10:7; or even by ἀνάλυσις, 3:20; τέλος, 6:6; and εὐθύτης, 6:8. Note the more graphic ἐπιμαίνομαι and ἀποστυγέω for περιλαμβάνω and μακρύνομαι in 3:5; the stronger μέφομαι and ἀντιλέγω for the tame ἐρῶ in 8:4; or the greater rhetorical flair of παρέξομαι δὲ τῷ λόγῳ for the simple εἶδον in 6:1. And while the “conclusion” of Ecclesiastes is introduced with the short and sharp “The end of the matter; all has been heard” (12:13), Gregory provides his readers with a much more sizeable build-up to this all-important matter by noting first the need for a conclusion to be given, then addressing his audience formally and calling for their attention while promising to deliver a proclamation in clear and concise form, before actually giving the conclusion.

supported by the Hebrew text as we have it,<sup>29</sup> whereas on those few occasions where it seems possible that he might be taking up an idea suggested by the original Hebrew rather than its Greek translation, an alternative explanation for the phenomenon can readily be given.<sup>30</sup>

More significantly, when the non-Septuagint Greek translations of Origen's Hexapla<sup>31</sup> ("Aquila",<sup>32</sup> Symmachus,<sup>33</sup> and Theodotion)

<sup>28</sup> In Gregory's *Panegyric to Origen*, in which he gives interesting particulars of what and how the master taught his disciples, he makes no mention of receiving any instruction in the Hebrew language — in fact, he claims to have had difficulty with the Greek and Latin languages (Metcalf, pp. 42, 43; Migne, cols. 1052, 1053), but this smacks of rhetorical modesty. It is evident that Gregory had quite a flair for Greek composition, but he may well have remained completely ignorant of the Jewish tongue. On Origen's knowledge of Hebrew, see the discussion in Jellicoe, pp. 104-106 — and on the possible ancillary use of the Hexapla as an aid in learning Hebrew, see pp. 108, 109.

<sup>29</sup> Some examples: in 1:17 Gregory speaks of παραβολαί, which LXX had substituted for MT's הוֹלִלּוֹת; in 2:15 he refers to πολλοὶ λόγοι, a matter arising from LXX's statement that a fool "prattles on superfluously" (ἐκ περισσεύματος λαλέω), which has no parallel in MT; in 3:16 he finds the εὐσεβής, as does LXX, where MT had found another example of רשע; in 5:16 he repeats πένθος, a Septuagintal reading of וָאֵבֶל rather than MT's אָכַל; in 7:18 he takes up the idea of a defiled hand, which entered the LXX text probably as a result of a dittographical error (μὴ μίανης from μὴ ἀνῆς for MT's אֶל-תִּנָּח); in 9:2 he agrees with LXX that there is ματαιότης where MT says הָכֵל and not הֶבֶל, and that there is κακός in contrast to ἀγαθός where MT only mentions טוב; and in 10:14 he draws attention to what has been (τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, arising from LXX's τί τὸ γενόμενον) rather than what will be (MT's מֵה-שִׁיחָה).

<sup>30</sup> In 5:9, for example, Gregory has two negatives even though LXX read MT's second לא as לו and accordingly translated it as αὐτῶν, but Gregory's οὐθ' may well reflect his own view of what the context suggested rather than an awareness of the Massoretic reading. Gregory's reference to ὁ πονηρός in 8:6 might be thought to have arisen from MT's רעה (where LXX read דעת and so speaks of γνώσις, which Gregory takes up on the divine plane with πρόνοια) and to represent an attempt to make sense of both the MT and LXX readings, but the reference could quite plausibly have arisen simply as the paraphrast's device for making a smooth transition between the verses which precede and follow this particular verse. In 9:4 Gregory's προτιμάω might seem to be based on MT's כִּתִּיב, בחר (LXX's κοινωνέω translates the Qere, חִבֵּר), but very likely the paraphrast, guided by the second half of the verse, is employing προτιμάω as his equivalent to Koheleth's ἀγαθός "A" ὑπὲρ "B" formula (cf. προτιμότερος in 7:3 and the use of αἰρέομαι in 4:6 and προκρίνω in 4:6, 13 and 6:3), without any awareness of a Hebrew reading of בחר.

<sup>31</sup> If Gregory had had access to the Hexapla of Ecclesiastes, then — even if he could make no use of the first two columns (the Hebrew and its transliteration) — more than just the Septuagintal understanding of a given verse was open to him. Since the Hexapla was apparently begun in Alexandria and completed in Caesarea (Jellicoe, p. 101; Henry Barclay Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* [Cambridge University Press, 1914], p. 73, places its completion between the years 240 and 245), it is quite possible that the Hexapla of Ecclesiastes had been completed by, or was completed during, the time of Gregory's studies (in the late

point to an inaccuracy in the Septuagint translation, Gregory appears to be unaware of, or uninterested in, their efforts.<sup>34</sup> Neither is he at all distracted by their insistence that the Septuagint has pointed in the wrong direction with its rendering of certain key words: they claim that **הבל** has to do with *ἀτμός* rather than *ματαιότης* and that **רוח** has to do with *ἄνεμος* rather than *πνεῦμα*, but Gregory consistently follows the Septuagint's lead.<sup>35</sup> Occasionally in his quest to re-express Ecclesiastes in good and non-repetitive Greek, Gregory does employ words which are also to be found in Symmachus' version, but examples of this are not frequent enough to be clearly more than coincidental.<sup>36</sup> Thus it appears that Gregory was working from the Septuagint alone — although the text in front of him may have

230s), and it is equally possible that Gregory's interest in paraphrasing this particular book was kindled at that time.

<sup>32</sup> On the matter of Aquila's version of Ecclesiastes, see above, notes 17 and 18.

<sup>33</sup> Even if Gregory was not able to make use of the Hexapla when he came to produce his paraphrase, it is conceivable that he could have had access to the translation of Symmachus, since it appears that this Greek version of the Hebrew Bible was in circulation in Cappadocia (see Jellicoe, pp. 94-99). Of the three non-LXX Greek translations of the Hexapla of Ecclesiastes, Symmachus' version, having the greatest paraphrastic tendency, would be perhaps the most useful to someone engaged in Gregory's task.

<sup>34</sup> Some examples: in 1:18 Gregory has *γῶσις* where LXX read **דעת** instead of **כעס** (Aquila and Theodotion render this as *θυμός*, which LXX has in all the later occurrences of **כעס**, while Symmachus offers *ὀργή* here); in 5:5 he speaks of *θεός* where LXX put forward such an interpretation of **מלאך** (Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion translate with *ἄγγελος*); in 8:6 his reference to *πρόνοια* arises from LXX's *γῶσις* (a reading of **דעת**) rather than Symmachus' *ἄκωσις* (= MT's **רעה**); and his interpretation of 10:16,17 is based on LXX's employment of *πόλις* and *γῆ* (while Symmachus is consistent with *γῆ* in both verses for MT's **ארץ**). When LXX's reading of **מעת** (instead of **מאת**) in 8:2 results in a somewhat puzzling translation, Gregory does not attempt to make precise sense out of *ἀπὸ τότε*, but neither does he follow the possibility offered by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion through their reading of **מת** or **מית**, even though such a line of interpretation — speaking of the sinner dying or being put to death (*ἀπέθανεν*) — might be expected to appeal to a pious interpreter.

<sup>35</sup> On Gregory's rendering of **הבל**, see above, n. 26. As for **רוח**, LXX Ecclesiastes translates this as *ἄνεμος* only in 5:15 and 11:4, and only on those two occasions does Gregory use *ἄνεμος* as his equivalent of **רוח**; elsewhere he generally employs LXX's *πνεῦμα*, which he mostly spiritualises (on his most common rendering of the *προαίρεσις πνεύματος* refrain, see below, n. 40, but note also that his treatment of 1:17; 2:17; and 6:9 suggests that he was well aware of the possibility of interpreting Koheleth's expression as "choice of wind", denoting an aimless and futile striving after something transitory and unattainable).

<sup>36</sup> For example, *ποταμός*, 1:7; *δεξαμένη*, 2:6; *γῆ*, 3:20; *ἀμφοτέρος*, 4:6; *ὀργή*, 7:9; *δένδρον*, 11:13. Cf. *συμβαίνω*, 3:19; *πλέον*, 3:19; and *πρὶν ἐλθεῖν*, 12:1.

included some variant readings<sup>37</sup> — and had set himself the task of independently transforming this “rough” Greek document into a “smooth” Greek work.

This characterisation of Gregory’s enterprise, as essentially a smoothing out of whatever struck the paraphrast as rough in the original work, is true also on the level of the ideas presented in the book: whatever ideas seemed heterodox have been made orthodox. Any suggestion that God might be to blame for the human predicament, or that he might act arbitrarily and unjustly, is not to be countenanced;<sup>38</sup> there is no doubt that it is human sinfulness,<sup>39</sup> under the influence of a certain “evil spirit” at work in the world,<sup>40</sup> which is to blame for the problematic nature of life, just as there is no doubt that a loving and just God oversees all that happens in this world and comes to the aid of those in need.<sup>41</sup> The recurrent

<sup>37</sup> Note *κάκωσιν*... *τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς*, 10:15, which seems to paraphrase both the Vatican and Alexandrian readings. Vatican readings appear to lie behind *γενναῖος*, 7:7; *οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ*, 10:10; and *ταπεινῶς* (also Sinaitic), 10:19; but there is no sign of the significant *ἁμωμος* and *μή* in 11:9. 4:1’s *παρὰμυθεομαι* is found under the category *ἄλλος* in Field’s Hexapla edition (Frederick Field, ed., *Origenis Hexaplorum* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1867], vol. 2, p. 386), while 12:9’s *λαός* is equivalent to the Venetian reading incorporated in the text of Rahlfs’ LXX edition (Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta* [Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1950], vol. 2, p. 260).

<sup>38</sup> Note the removal of *θεός* from 1:13 in favour of the impersonal *δίδοται* and from 3:10 in favour of *ἐτέθη*, or the distancing effect of *θεήλατος* rather than *θεός* in 6:2. 7:13 is made to declare the greatness and kindness of God, who cannot be said to have done anything “crookedly”.

<sup>39</sup> Cf., e.g., the application of *ἄρρωστία πονηρά* in 6:2, where Koheleth brands as repulsive the situation in which for some inscrutable reason God does not allow a person to enjoy those good things of life which, after all, God himself has showered upon him, while Gregory describes the situation as a clear sign of wickedness on the part of a person who hoards wealth or honour or any other humanly desired thing and does not thereby bring any benefit either to himself or to his neighbour.

<sup>40</sup> Note Gregory’s interpretation of the *προαίρεσις πνεύματος* refrain in 1:14 (“everything down here is full of a strange, foul spirit”), 2:11 (“the work of an evil spirit”), 4:4 (“the sting of an evil spirit”), 4:6 (“the trickery of a treacherous spirit”), and 4:16 (“the impulse of a hostile spirit”). In 3:11 he talks of “an evil observer of the times” (*καιροσκοπος πονηρός*) who has this present age in his jaws as he battles against God; and in 10:4, 5 he calls for his readers to firmly resist this “hostile spirit” (*πνεῦμα ... πολέμιον*) and warns them about “the works of the prince and father of all wickedness” (*τυράννου ἔργα καὶ πατὴρ πάσης πονηρίας*).

<sup>41</sup> God is described as “a gracious and watchful God” (7:26), “the only Lord and King” (8:4; cf. 10:20), “the Lord and Guardian of all” (12:13). His *πρόνοια* is both loving and just (2:25; 8:6, 11). Judgment will come from him upon all that we do (11:9), but he “is able to forgive a great many sins” (10:4) and will save those who fear him (5:6; 12:7); meanwhile a God-fearing lifestyle is rewarded already in this life (7:8), and “the person who is wronged has a helper in God” (3:15).

conclusion that there is nothing better for a person to do in life than to eat and drink and find enjoyment for himself sounds suspiciously like a certain well-known but un-Christian philosophy of life; Gregory tells his readers bluntly that the perfect good does **not** lie in eating and drinking, and that enjoyment is only granted by God to those people who act righteously.<sup>42</sup> Frequently the paraphrase invests the original words of Koheleth with a moral flavour which they do not appear to actually carry: for example, it seems that Koheleth employs the word “good” in particular contexts to speak of good fortune or worldly goods, but Gregory is inclined to treat such passages as instructions in standard Christian ethics.<sup>43</sup> And no matter that the original book of Ecclesiastes gives little or no credence to the theory that there is life after death — Gregory is able to find many occasions on which to direct the reader’s thoughts beyond this mortal life.<sup>44</sup>

But just as surely as the paraphrase enlarges the vision of Ecclesiastes to take into view another — heavenly — life in addition to this life “under the sun”, so it carefully limits the scope of the book’s critique of life. No longer is it unreservedly said that “all is

<sup>42</sup> This is his approach in 2:24 and 3:12, 13 respectively. In 8:15-17 he warns that someone who indulges in a lifestyle of eating and drinking “will be completely unable, no matter how much he strives, to find the real good” (cf. 3:22, where he presents as a mistaken view the worldly idea that “there is no other good than self-indulgence”).

<sup>43</sup> In 5:10, for example, Koheleth appears to be talking about increased success in the accumulation of worldly goods (and a concomitant increase in the numbers of people who believe that they ought to have a share in one’s blessings!), but Gregory talks about moral goodness being a great joy for those who partake in it. Another case in point is 6:3, where Koheleth speaks of a person who is not satisfied with the worldly goods which he has, while Gregory speaks of a person whose soul is not filled with goodness. 4:14 provides an example of Koheleth’s failure to ascribe a moral judgment being “rectified” by his paraphrast (Gregory says that a ruler who “has unjust power” is likely to “be later justly thrown out”), and 5:18 an example of the paraphrast ensuring that the biblical writer cannot be taken as giving his approval to amorality (Gregory says that possessions are only gifts of God if they have been worked for and “not gained through robbery”).

<sup>44</sup> He speaks of *ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος* (3:11), hinting that there is an *αἰὼν μέλλον*, and so he contrasts the way things are *ἐνθάδε* (9:16) with the way things will be *μετέπειτα* (9:17). He alludes to “the things that will happen after everyone’s death” (6:12), and prophetically sees “in the lower regions a pit of punishment awaiting the ungodly, but a different place set apart for the godly” (3:16); “the good person will enter into his eternal home with rejoicing, but the bad people will fill all their homes with mourning” (12:5). Only fools think that there is nothing after death (9:3-10; 11:7-9). People should look beyond this life under the sun (1:3; 2:14), and seek salvation (5:6; 12:7).

futility". Koheleth might think that the ceaseless cycles of nature are an example of tedium and pointlessness, but Gregory sees them as a fine example to human beings of how we ought to act in accordance with the divinely-ordained rules of behaviour; the works of God can never be described as empty or fleeting, as so many human activities are.<sup>45</sup> But neither is all human endeavour without meaning. Koheleth might think that life is ultimately futile, but Gregory does not see this conclusion as applying to Everyman; only the life of the unrighteous can be said to be a futile life.<sup>46</sup> Koheleth might even say that life is to be despised because of its utter futility, but what he is really saying is that the lifestyle of a sinner is to be rejected on account of its evident wickedness.<sup>47</sup> And when he complains about our human inability to discern the meaning of life or to understand God's dealings with his creation, what he is actually lamenting is the short-sightedness of foolish people, who refuse to acknowledge the truths of the faith.<sup>48</sup> Those who have eyes to see know that not all is futility.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Thus in the opening poem of Ecclesiastes (1:4-11), where Koheleth's point seems to be that nature, like human beings, never gets anywhere, Gregory makes the point that nature, unlike human beings, never gets out of line. Note that already in the introductory verse (1:2) the all-embracing scope of Koheleth's "futility of futilities, all is futility" becomes "how empty and useless human activities and all human pursuits are" — the futility of human strivings is indeed a major preoccupation of Koheleth, but Gregory, in so emphasising that human matters are in view here, appears to be concerned to remove the possibility of having futility attributed to the workings of nature (that is, to the work of the Creator).

<sup>46</sup> In 2:23 Koheleth places his judgment of "futility" upon the suffering inherent in human life, while Gregory's equivalent judgment is made upon the matters over which a fool struggles in his heart. The respective judgments are again made differently in 9:9, where Koheleth notes that even the good life which he advocates is a fleeting and insubstantial thing, while Gregory notes that the hedonistic lifestyle which a wicked person advocates is an unsatisfying and unrewarding thing.

<sup>47</sup> In 2:17 "life" in general is limited to "my life", which — while Gregory might justify it on the basis of "my toil" in the next verse — has the effect of changing what appears to be a declaration of the hatefulness of life *per se* into a declaration of the hatefulness of the kind of lifestyle that King Solomon had been foolishly following (cf. 7:15, where Gregory interprets "my futile life" as referring only to this former unrighteous lifestyle).

<sup>48</sup> Koheleth's plaintive cry, "who can discover it?" (7:24), characterises the plight of Everyman, that ultimate wisdom is far from all who live under the sun, but Gregory interprets the verse as having to do specifically with Solomon's lack of wisdom during the dark days of his life before he was able to once again take hold of Truth. Koheleth clearly states in 8:17 that a wise person is just as ignorant as anyone else, despite that type of person's claim to the contrary, but Gregory clearly implies that a wise person — someone who does not involve himself in the self-indulgent pleasures of the sinner — can discover Truth. Similarly, the universal ignorance lamented by Koheleth in 8:7; 9:12; and 11:5 becomes the specific ignorance of those who do not realise what things God has in store for them, such

They also know that they will receive a just reward for all that they do in this world. True, the doctrine of appropriate requital for the righteous and the unrighteous appears to be under particular attack in the original book of Ecclesiastes, but in Gregory Thaumaturgos' version it is firmly reasserted. Koheleth had lamented that ultimately it seemed to make little difference whether you were wise or foolish, for in either case you had exactly the same end: death. But Gregory asserts that a wise person never shares the same fate as a foolish person: in this life the blessings of God are enjoyed by those who live a righteous life, while those who live an unrighteous life are afflicted with various distresses of body and mind arising from their wicked lifestyle<sup>50</sup> — and in the life to come there is a pit of punishment awaiting the ungodly, but quite a different place set apart for the godly.<sup>51</sup> Koheleth had been particularly disturbed by his observation that all too often the life of a good person is unjustly cut short, while a wicked person lives on in his wickedness. Gregory, however, is confident that it is unrighteous people who are snatched prematurely from this life, while righteous people live on in their righteousness;<sup>52</sup> the godly may suffer some ill-treatment at the hands

as judgment for their wickedness. In contrast, those who take hold of goodness find that it “furnishes them with the ability to perceive all things” (5:10).

<sup>49</sup> Most people, Gregory complains, “have given themselves over to transitory things, not wanting to look — with the soul’s noble eye — at anything higher than the stars” (1:3); but “the person who has chosen goodness is like someone who sees everything — including what is above — clearly” (2:14).

<sup>50</sup> We must choose between good and evil, Gregory tells us (2:21), the former leading to a life of quietness and the latter to a life of distress (2:22, 23; 4:5, 6). Moreover, “the good person, who gets wisdom from God, also gets heavenly joy, but the evil person is harassed by troubles sent from God” (2:26); this latter person “spends his whole life in most unholy passions and irrational desires, with pains and illnesses as well” (5:16), while the former “is neither afflicted with pains nor generally subject to evil thoughts, but measures out his life with good deeds, being cheerful in all things and rejoicing in the gift of God” (5:19).

<sup>51</sup> Such is Gregory’s prophetic vision in 3:16, where Koheleth had seen only wickedness under the sun (though LXX had been able to discover some godliness as well, in the person of ὁ εὐσεβής).

<sup>52</sup> Note 7:15, where Koheleth presents the classic problem for the pious *Weltanschauung* (represented by Proverbs 10:27) in that often a righteous person perishes while an unrighteous person lasts for a long time, but in Gregory’s version of affairs “perishing” is ascribed to the unrighteous person, who “dies together with his wickedness”, and “lasting” is ascribed to the righteous person, who “abides in righteousness and does not let go of it” throughout his whole life. Note also 8:10, where Koheleth appears to be complaining about the wicked receiving what they do not deserve — a proper burial and even praise (LXX) for what they have done — but Gregory confidently asserts that “ungodly people are snatched prematurely from this life and are put out of the way, because they have given themselves over to futility”.

of the ungodly, but the perpetrators of such evil will surely be brought down.<sup>53</sup> If judgment appears to be delayed, the Christian version of Ecclesiastes assures us (as does the New Testament) that this is only because of the great forbearance of the heavenly judge,<sup>54</sup> but there will certainly come a time when those who are good will enter into their eternal home with rejoicing and those who are evil will be sent away, mourning.<sup>55</sup>

In order to make this book speak with so Christian a voice, the paraphrase occasionally seems to bluntly contradict the original text: for example, the original text might appear to be saying that “the wise person dies, just like the fool”, while the paraphrase very clearly says that “the wise person **never** shares the same fate as the fool”.<sup>56</sup> But more often a clever twist in the phrasing removes the suggestion of heresy: for example, if the original text appears to be blaming God for the human plight, the simple removal of the word “God” in favour of an impersonal construction allows the pious reader to make his own assumption as to where the blame lies<sup>57</sup> — and in the context of the paraphrase he will doubtlessly assume that the fault lies with human beings themselves, or with that superhuman Being who has opposed himself to God. It is interesting to note that the

<sup>53</sup> Some people are currently being treated unjustly, Gregory concedes, but he adds the confident assertion that “those who ‘make might their right’ (οἱ χειροδικῶντες) are raised to a height from which they will also fall” (4:1). Similarly, he warns rulers about “the one who has unjust power being later justly thrown out” (4:14); “blood-stained leaders are awaiting punishment from above” (12:5), and so anyone who imagines himself to be powerful should know that one’s wickedness “will not save you from the terrible things which will happen to you” (5:8). Gregory’s warnings apply not only to powerful oppressors, however, since “anyone who plots against another person forgets that he is setting a trap firstly and only for himself” (10:8), and “the foolish person will fall into destruction through his own silly talk” (10:12), since inevitably “foolishness leads to destruction” (11:10).

<sup>54</sup> “Divine providence does not attend to everyone swiftly, because of God’s great patience with evil” (8:11; cf. 2 Peter 3:9); nevertheless, “the judgment ... will take place at the right time” (8:5).

<sup>55</sup> Such is Gregory’s apocalyptic vision in 12:5, where Koheleth had pictured Everyman going to his grave and the hired mourners going about their professional routine.

<sup>56</sup> This is Gregory’s treatment of 2:16, where he further states categorically that “a wise person and a foolish person have nothing in common, neither in terms of human remembrance nor in terms of divine recompense”, even though Koheleth states at that point that the wise person, in common with the fool, is quickly forgotten about. Cf. 2:9, where Koheleth speaks of wisdom remaining, but Gregory speaks of wisdom diminishing; or 7:25, where Koheleth speaks of seeking wisdom, but Gregory speaks of abstaining altogether from seeking it.

<sup>57</sup> See above, n. 38.



same phrase in the original text can be paraphrased in two opposite ways, depending on whether Gregory does or does not find himself in agreement with the opinions Koheleth is expressing: for example, the expression "I turned [to his further matter]" is rendered as "I also know [this additional matter]" when the pious interpreter approves of the ideas being put forward, but as "I turned away [from such thoughts]" when he disapproves of what has been said.<sup>58</sup>

In fact this latter method — noting that certain thoughts which have been expressed are to be rejected as false or dangerous ideas — is a favourite device of Gregory's for coping with the many heterodox statements sprinkled throughout Ecclesiastes. It is not possible or necessary to refashion every statement into an orthodox sentiment; particular cases of erroneous ideas can be clearly marked off as the mistaken attitudes of the writer in his younger, more foolish days — "I once thought that such and such was the case, but now I know that such thinking is wrong"<sup>59</sup> — or as the sinister opinions of wicked people — "a person might think that he ought to do such and such, but I say that he is a fool for thinking in such a way".<sup>60</sup> Occasionally Gregory allows Koheleth to speak his mind relatively freely, with only an expression like "it seemed to me that this was so", hinting that the writer no longer held to this mistaken view at the time of writing,<sup>61</sup> but often he places immediately before or after a dangerous idea a clear note to the effect that he is here citing a false or foolish opinion.<sup>62</sup>

Gregory also makes it clear that the work he is paraphrasing stems from none other than Solomon, whose words deserve a hearing because he was the most honoured of all kings and the wisest of all prophets.<sup>63</sup> The book is called "Ecclesiastes" (Ἐκκλησιαστής) because it is an address which Solomon "speaks to the whole assembly

<sup>58</sup> Cf. the treatment of *καὶ ἐπέστρεψα ἐγὼ* in 4:1 (ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἀπάσων ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιστρέψας τῶν ἐννοιῶν) and 4:7 (ἔστι δέ τι καὶ ἕτερον, ἕπερ οἶδα).

<sup>59</sup> This device is employed in 1:16-2:1; 2:10-11; 8:15-17; and 9:1-3.

<sup>60</sup> This device is employed in 9:7-11 and 11:7-9.

<sup>61</sup> This is his approach in the passage 3:17-22.

<sup>62</sup> Thus he introduces 8:14 as "a most base and false opinion [which] is often spread among human beings"; and in the passage 9:3-10 he tells the reader that "these are fools' arguments — errors and deceits" (v. 3), gives a reminder that it is the voice of Deception which offers this kind of advice (v. 7), and finally underlines that "these are the things which hollow people say" (v. 10).

<sup>63</sup> Σαλομών, ... παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους βασιλεὺς ἐντιμώτατος, καὶ προφήτης σοφώτατος (1:1).

(ἐκκλησία) of God”<sup>64</sup> — note “speaks” (present tense) and “ἐκκλησία” (read: “church”), assuring the Christian reader that this address is directed to him. Far from being the somewhat unorthodox thoughts once expressed by an unknown Hebrew sage, or even a superseded Old Testament address once given by a famous Israelite king, Ecclesiastes is to be understood as an abidingly relevant sermon being preached to God’s congregation by the wisest of his chosen messengers.

This presumption of Solomonic authorship gives rise to certain motifs in Gregory’s interpretation. One idea referred to throughout the paraphrase is that Solomon lost and subsequently regained wisdom — he had received wisdom from God but had afterwards rejected it, and so he had gone through a long period of foolishness before he came to his senses and was able, as an old man, to give the wise counsel contained in this book.<sup>65</sup> And since Gregory sees Solomon as being not only a king but also a prophet, a number of statements are treated as speaking in a somewhat visionary way of the cosmic battle between the forces of good and evil and of the final separation of good and evil human beings; this apocalyptic motif reaches its climax in an ingenious paraphrase of the final chapter’s “Allegory of Old Age” as a prophecy of the end of the world.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Λέγει... ἀπάση τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίᾳ (1:1). Cf. Gregory’s use of the verb ἐκκλησιάζω when the title Ἐκκλησιαστής reappears in 1:12 and 12:9.

<sup>65</sup> This motif appears in 2:9-12, 17-21; 7:15, 23; 8:15-17; and 12:10.

<sup>66</sup> Gregory’s interpretation of 3:11 is on three counts reminiscent of the famous passage in Revelation 12:7-12 concerning war between the good and evil angels: Gregory speaks of an evil Being fighting against the forces of God (as does the visionary of Revelation), he depicts this Being “closing his jaws over” this present age (cf. the apocalypticist’s image of him as “the great dragon” and “that ancient serpent”), and he further styles him as an evil “observer of the times” (καιροσκοπος) who is greatly exerting himself during this age (cf. Revelation’s talk of the evil one having come to earth greatly agitated “because he knows that his καιρός is short”). It is quite likely that Gregory also has this Being in mind when he later twice warns his readers about “a serpent’s bite” (10:8,11) which stealthily entraps the sinner. His warnings about a swift end which will come upon human works (2:16) and the terrible things which will happen to wicked people (5:8) also have an apocalyptic flavour, as does his ominous saying that the wicked who are already dead “are in a better state than those who are still alive” (4:2), presumably because those who have died will not experience the forthcoming days of distress (cf. Mark 13:19). “The coming days” (ἡ ἐπιούσα ἡμέρα) which Gregory mentions in 11:2 may or may not be a reference to this approaching doom, but there is no doubt about “the great and terrible day of God” (ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλη ἡμέρα καὶ φοβερά) which he introduces in 12:1 and then proceeds to describe in detail, culminating in the separation of good and evil (cf. his earlier visionary report in 3:16 that “I saw in the lower regions a pit of punishment awaiting the ungodly, but a different place set apart for the godly”) and the salvation of those whose “souls acknowledge and fly up to the One by whom they were brought into being” (12:7).

In his paraphrase of the closing verses of the book, Gregory gives some indication of how he saw his role as a paraphrast. He speaks of the ordinary people needing someone to teach them how to understand words of wisdom, and of the responsibility of the ones who do the teaching to "pass on those wise lessons which they have received from one good shepherd and teacher, just as if everybody with one voice described in unison and in greater detail what was entrusted to them"<sup>67</sup> — in paraphrasing Ecclesiastes, Gregory himself is passing on in a more understandable form the wise lessons which he has read in its pages and in which he has been instructed by his teachers; moreover, he is setting these lessons out in greater detail than they were in the form in which they had been entrusted to him, and he has presented the voice of this particular biblical book as being in unison with the general Christian tradition.

In doing so, Gregory is performing for the Church essentially the same service as that which the Aramaic paraphrase was to perform in the Jewish community when it presented the words of Koheleth as being in harmony with the general Jewish tradition. Though the Targum to Ecclesiastes was produced some centuries after Gregory's work,<sup>68</sup> it is no surprise that the two paraphrases handle this biblical book in broadly similar ways, since Gregory — at least through the instruction of Origen in Caesarea, if not also through direct contact with Jews in Neocaesarea — could not have been completely ignorant of the Jewish approach to Ecclesiastes which came in time to be codified in midrashic and targumic texts. Thus Gregory shares with the Targumist the decisive conviction that Solomon, as king and prophet,<sup>69</sup> is speaking of life "under the sun" not as the only

<sup>67</sup> Gregory's version of 12:11.

<sup>68</sup> Etan Levine, *The Aramaic Version of Qobeleth* (New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1978), p. 68, places the *terminus a quo* of the Targum to Ecclesiastes at about the year 500, the date of the completion of the Babylonian Talmud (cf. Holm-Nielsen, p. 63: "The Targum to Koheleth ... in its present shape only goes back to the 5th century").

<sup>69</sup> Cf. the similar treatment of the introductory verse in Gregory's paraphrase (see above, n. 63) and in the Targum ("The words of prophecy which Koheleth — that is, Solomon, the son of King David — ... prophesied"). The Targumist finds considerably more words of prophecy in Ecclesiastes than does Gregory (see, for example, the prophetic words concerning specific events in Israel's life after the time of Solomon, as recorded in the targumic version of 1:2; 2:18; 3:11; 4:15, 16; 10:7-9, 16-17; and the mention of the forthcoming "days of the King Messiah" in 1:11 and 7:24), but they are agreed that the one who speaks in this book is more than a simple king.

perspective open to human beings, but as the prelude to a life to come in which everything will fall into place for the person who lives wisely and faithfully in this present life.<sup>70</sup> To be sure, the Greek Christian paraphrase is consistently less periphrastic and allegorical than its Aramaic Jewish counterpart, and it is naturally uninterested in linking Solomon's observations with various matters of Jewish tradition,<sup>71</sup> but the agenda of the two interpreters is quite analogous: just as the Targumist presented Koheleth's words in a form with which the pious Jew could live, so Gregory presented those words in a form with which the pious Christian could live.

And so it is that the Christian tradition was able gradually to embrace Ecclesiastes as a pious book of the Church. A little over a century after Gregory Thaumaturgos wrote his paraphrase, Jerome produced a commentary on Ecclesiastes which became something of a standard in the ongoing tradition of Christian interpretation of this book. Jerome refers to and directly quotes from Gregory's work,<sup>72</sup> and he makes considerable use of the method of reading certain statements in the book as being what Solomon had erroneously thought before he came to a correct understanding of things. Jerome moves on from Gregory in offering many allegorical interpretations, such as the eating and drinking in which the reader is advised to engage being properly understood as a feeding on Christ's body and blood in the eucharist, and once this process had begun there was no

<sup>70</sup> The Targumist frequently juxtaposes "this world" (עלמא הדין) with "the world to come" (עלמא דאתי) — see, for example, his treatment of 1:3; 2:11, 26; 3:22; 4:8; 5:10, 12; 7:15; 8:13-15; 9:6.

<sup>71</sup> In the early part of Chapter Two, for example, where Koheleth simply itemises various "Solomonic" projects, Gregory sees little need to include expository elements in his paraphrase, but the Targumist makes room in his treatment of these verses for quite a number of intrusive elements, such as the Rabbis of the Sanhedrin in Jamnia and various kinds of demons from India. When Koheleth presents two typical case studies of the interplay between wisdom and folly (4:13-16 and 9:13-16), Gregory sensibly refrains from choosing particular cases from history or legend as supposedly being in Koheleth's mind, but not so the Targumist, who treats the reader to a lengthy account of the legendary interplay between Abraham and Nimrod in the first case and to a depiction of the great struggle between the *yetzer ha-tov* and the *yetzer ha-ra* in the second case. Cf. Levine's comment, p. 70, that the Targum to Ecclesiastes' "primary function is allegorization and the incorporation of alien concepts", and his list on pp. 68, 69 of its considerable folkloric/legendary material.

<sup>72</sup> At 4:13 Jerome notes that "the holy man Gregory, bishop in Pontus and student of Origen, in the *Paraphrase of Ecclesiastes* understands the passage here in this way", and proceeds to quote Gregory's version of the next several verses (see *Corpus Christianorum*, vol. 72, p. 289).

holding back the inventiveness of the allegorists — Ambrose, for example, uncovered the doctrine of the Trinity in the saying, “the threefold cord is not quickly broken”.

Indeed, it might have been expected that Gregory himself, being a pupil of Origen, would have treated many of the enigmatical sayings of Koheleth in an allegorical or mystical way, even though his work is presented as a “paraphrase” rather than a full-scale “commentary”. Gregory’s interpretation of Ecclesiastes is considerably more restrained than that of many of the Fathers and later interpreters — unlike them he does not, for example, unearth references to Christ in this book, despite the prophetic abilities he ascribes to Solomon. Nevertheless, in representing the book as a sermon on the futility of the unregenerate life and the certainty of appropriate requital for the righteous and the unrighteous in the life to come, Gregory can be said to have “Christianised” the seemingly heretical words of Koheleth.

In presenting the Church with this smooth paraphrase of a formerly uncomfortable work, Gregory Thaumaturgos stands firmly at the beginning of a long tradition of seeking to remould Ecclesiastes into a more ecclesiastical book.

## CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE JUDAEO-ARABIC DIALECT OF BAGHDAD

BY

JACOB MANSOUR

### INTRODUCTION

This article describes some of the characteristic features of the Arabic dialect spoken by the Jews of Baghdad, one of the three spoken dialects of Baghdad: the Muslim, the Christian and the Jewish dialect. The main difference is between the Muslim and the Jewish dialect, which differ both in their phonology, morphology and vocabulary.

I do not propose here to trace all the historical reasons that led to the emergence of distinct Jewish Arabic vernaculars, nor are these reasons altogether clear. I shall mention only a few.

One reason for the distinctive nature of the Jewish vernacular is that the Jews preserved the ancient local Arabic vernacular while the Muslims adopted, or were influenced by, other dialects. This is what appears to have happened in Baghdad. An examination of the Muslim dialect of Baghdad reveals a marked bedouin influence, and Haim Blanc suggests that bedouin tribes from the Arabian peninsula, or sedentaries who spoke a bedouin type dialect, may have immigrated into Baghdad and so brought about a 'bedouinization' of the Muslim dialect. The Jewish population, on the other hand, remained relatively constant: there was no migration and consequently no change in its language, which survived in its original form over the centuries. This accounts for the difference between the Muslim and the Jewish dialect in Baghdad.

Another reason derives from the different attitude of the two communities to Classical Arabic. The Muslims took pride in the 'pure' Arabic language and held on to the ideal of *al-Arabiyya* the ancient Classical Arabic as it was believed to have been preserved by bedouins of Arabia. Not only in poetry but even in prose, they strove to imitate what they considered to be the perfect language.

The Jews, as well as Christians, on the other hand, were less idealistic about the purity of the language and therefore permitted themselves to deviate more freely from the classical model. This difference of attitude could also have produced differences between the Muslim and the Jewish dialect.

Yet another reason for the distinctive character of the Jewish dialect is the influence of Hebrew and Aramaic. We know that the Jews continued, in Exile, to learn and teach Hebrew. We know too that Aramaic had preceded Arabic as their spoken language, and was also used, together with Hebrew, in the liturgy. Thus Hebrew and Aramaic inevitably left their mark on the spoken language of the Jews.

The distinct character of the Arabic dialect spoken by the Jews of Baghdad (henceforth: JB) is manifested at several linguistic levels: phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis. In this article I propose to describe some of these distinctive features, comparing them with Classical Arabic (henceforth: CA) as well as with the other dialects of Baghdad: the Muslim dialect (henceforth: MB) and the Christian dialect (henceforth: CB).

## 1. CONSONANTS

·Generally speaking, it may be said that the pronunciation of the consonants in JB is very similar to what is considered to be 'classical' pronunciation in CA. Most of the changes that have occurred in these consonants in other dialects have not occurred in JB.

1.1 CA *q* (ق) is articulated as post-velar stop *q* without any softening whatsoever. It has not become *k* or ' as in some other dialects, or *g* as in bedouin dialects.

The Muslims in Baghdad pronounce it mostly as *g*<sup>1</sup>. For example, the word CA *qultu* 'I said' is pronounced in JB *qaltu*, but in MB *gilit*. The Christians pronounce this consonant as the Jews do: *q*.

It is relevant, here, to point out that these two pronunciations of CA *qultu* have served to label two different dialect types. The *qaltu*

<sup>1</sup> *q* is also heard in MB in certain words, but less often than *g*. We also hear, though only rarely, *j* and *k* for CA *q*.

dialects are, generally speaking, sedentary dialects, while the *gilit* dialects are characteristically bedouin dialects. The Jewish dialect, as we have seen, like the Christian dialect, belongs to the *qaltu* type, while the Muslim dialect belongs to the *gilit* type. And this is one of the reasons for the assumption referred to above, that the Muslim dialect has bedouin influence.

As mentioned above, in JB the reflex of CA *q* is usually *q*. It is only in a very few cases that it is pronounced *g*, and these are all loans from MB or other dialects (see below, § 1.6.2).

The consonant *j* is also heard in JB as a reflex of CA *q*, but only rarely and only in loan phrases, e.g. *ʾīd mən wara w-ʾīd mən jəddām* 'one hand behind and one in front'. This is said of a person who returns emptyhanded. The word 'in front' is, ordinarily, in JB *qəddām* with *q*, but in this saying it is pronounced *jəddām* with *j* as in MB.<sup>2</sup>

1.2 The regular reflex of CA *k* (ك) in JB (as well as in CB) is *k*, while in MB it is in some words *č*, as in:

CA *kān* 'he was' — JB: *kān*; CB: *kān*; MB: *čān*.

CA *kabīr* 'big' — JB: *kbiḡ*; CB: *kbiḡ*; MB: *čəbīr*.

CA *kalb* 'dog' — JB: *kalb*; CB: *kaləb*; MB: *čələb*.

and in other words — *k*, as in:

CA *kull* 'all' — JB and CB: *kəll*; MB: *kull*.

And sometimes, in a single word, it is pronounced both *č* and *k* with, however, a difference of meaning, as in:

MB *bīk* 'in you' (m.s.) — *bīč* 'in you' (f.s.).

The pronunciation of CA *k* (ك) as *č*, like the pronunciation of CA *q* (ق) as *g*, is also typical of the *gilit* dialects prevailing among the bedouins, and this is further evidence of the close relationship between the Muslim dialect and that of the bedouins.

1.3 The CA interdentalals ذ, ث, ظ, have been retained in JB in the 'classical' pronunciation: *ḏ*, *ṯ*, *ḏ*. In these consonants, interestingly enough, it is the Muslim dialect that is like the Jewish dialect, and the Christian dialect that differs. For in the Christian dialect CA *ḏ* is pronounced as *d*, CA *ṯ* as *t*, and CA *ḏ* as *d*. E.g.

CA *bāḏa* 'this (m.)' — JB and MB: *bāḏa*; CB: *bāda*.

CA *ʾiṯnayn* 'two' — JB and MB: *ṯnēn*; CB: *tnēn*.

<sup>2</sup> In MB, though, the word *gəddām* with *g* is also heard.



1.4 Another feature of JB, which makes it, for the non-native listener, a dialect with hard sounds, is the large number of emphatic (velarized) consonants. It has, of course, the CA emphatic consonants ص, ط, ظ, which, in JB, are pronounced *s*, *t*, *ḡ*. The fourth CA emphatic consonant ض also occurs in JB as an emphatic consonant, but it is not pronounced *ḡ* in what is believed to be the 'classical' way, but *ḡ*, precisely like CA ظ.<sup>3</sup> We may include, among these emphatic consonants, the consonant *q* mentioned above.

There are, too, other emphatic consonants in JB. Not only is *l*, in the name of 'alla 'God' and its compounds, articulated emphatically as in the other dialects, but also other consonants, such as *b*, *m*, *n*, etc., are sometimes velarized.

In some cases the reason for this velarization is phonetic: an emphatic consonant within a word can convert the adjoining consonants, or even all the consonants in the word, into emphatic consonants. For example, the word CA *sulṭān* is heard as *ṣalṭān* with the consonants *ṣ* and *l* articulated as emphatic consonants under the influence of the adjoining emphatic consonant *t*. This is the familiar phenomenon of assimilation.

However, there are words in which consonants are articulated emphatically without adjoining emphatic consonants. An examination of these words reveals that one of the main reasons for their emphatic articulation is psychological. A considerable number of these words are oaths that take the name of God or the Prophet, such as *waḡḡa* (an oath in the name of God) and *ḡuḡḡāḡi* (an oath in the name of the Prophet). Other emphatic words are forms of address to an older person, such as *bāḡa* (father), *māma* (mother). Also, curses and words of abuse such as: 'aḡēl (a term of contempt, similar in meaning to 'fool, idiot').<sup>4</sup>

We also find emphatic consonants in loan words from languages that do not have emphatic consonants. The reason may lie in the effort made to articulate those sounds of the loan word that differ from the sounds of JB, with the result that they are articulated emphatically. Or it may be that the effort to articulate the vowel in the loan word causes the adjoining consonants to be articulated

<sup>3</sup> This is also in MB. In CB, however, the practice is reversed and CA ط is pronounced *ḡ* like ض. It is a known fact that this failure to distinguish between CA ض and ط is common to several dialects.

<sup>4</sup> The word may have derived from the Hebrew word אָבֵל.

emphatically, as in *tōḡ* 'dust, powder' (from Turkish), *jazḡdān* 'purse' (from Persian) and similar words.

1.5 A consonant that deserves special attention is CA *r* (ر). Its pronunciation in JB differs from most of the Arabic dialects and constitutes one of the chief distinguishing features of JB.

The reflex of CA *r* (ر) in MB, as in most of the Arabic dialects, is *r*, while in JB, as well as in CB, is usually *ḡ*<sup>5</sup>, e.g.

- CA *ra's* 'head' — MB: *rās*; JB: *ḡās*.  
 CA *'imra'a* 'woman, wife' — MB: *marā*; JB: *maḡa*.  
 CA *'ašara* 'ten' — MB: *'ašra*; JB: *'ašḡa*.  
 CA *šariba* 'to drink' — MB *šarab*; JB: *šaḡab*.  
 CA *rāḡa* 'to go, go away' — MB: *rāḡ*; JB: *ḡāḡ*.  
 CA *bi'r* 'well, pit' — MB: *bīr*; JB: *biḡ*.  
 CA *'aškar* 'army' — MB: *'aškar*; JB: *'aškaḡ*.

But the *r*-sound also exists in JB. Examination, however, reveals that the words containing an *r*-sound are generally non-Arabic. e.g.

Hebrew: *brāxa* 'blessing' (Heb. **ברכה**); *darūš* 'sermon' (Heb. **דרוש**); *tōra* 'the Pentateuch' (Heb. **תורה**); *'arbīt* 'evening prayer' (Heb. **ערבית**); *'etrōḡ* 'citron' (Heb. **אתרוג**); and in proper names, as *'abrahām* (Heb. **אברהם**); *rubēn* (Heb. **ראובן**); *harōn* (Heb. **אהרן**). etc.

Persian: *qūri* 'teapot'; *naḡar* 'person, individual', etc.

Turkish: *kōndra* 'shoe'; *saḡra* 'jacket', etc.

Loan words are pronounced with *r* even when words of the same root from CA are present in JB and are pronounced with *ḡ*. For example, the word *brāxa* (blessing), as noted above, is pronounced with *r*, deriving from the Hebrew word **ברכה**. However the verb *bēḡak* 'to bless' is pronounced with *ḡ*, since it derives from CA *bāraka*.<sup>6</sup> Another example: *šarbat* (syrup)<sup>7</sup> pronounced with *r* appears to have come into JB from Turkish or Persian, but *šaḡab* and all the other verb forms are pronounced with *ḡ*, deriving from CA *šariba*.

Though Arabic words pronounced with *r* are to be found in JB, yet an examination of these words reveals that most of them have come into JB only recently, such as *saḡyāra* 'automobile, car', *qiṡār* 'train', *jarīda* 'newspaper'. So, they may be considered as loan words introduced into JB from CA or from MB in a more recent period.

<sup>5</sup> This *ḡ*-sound, which is etymologically CA ر (*r*), is pronounced in JB in the same way as *ḡ*, which is etymologically CA غ (*ḡ*), without any difference whatsoever.

<sup>6</sup> One should note also this difference: *brāxa* is pronounced with an *x*-sound as in Hebrew, but *bēḡak* is pronounced with a *k*-sound as in Arabic.

<sup>7</sup> The word 'syrup' also originates from the same Persian or Turkish word.

And here, too, the same word may be found to have two forms: one with *r* and one with *ġ*, as in *ʿaskaġ* (army) mentioned above, which is pronounced with *ġ*, but in the phrase *ḥākam ʿaskari* (martial law) we have *r*, since this is a modern expression which has come into the dialect recently and may be considered as a loan phrase.

Moreover, sometimes a change from *ġ* to *r* can bring about a change of meaning, as in:

*faġġ* 'he poured, served food', but *farr* 'he threw'.  
*qaddaġ* 'he measured', but *qaddar* 'he estimated, valued'.  
*faġġaq* 'he separated, left a space', but *farraq* 'he distinguished'.  
*ġayyaġ* 'he dressed up, changed clothes', but *ġayyar* 'he changed'.

Similarly,

*baġġa* 'outside', but *barr* 'desert, wilderness'.  
*ḥjāġa* 'stone', but *ḥajar* 'precious stone, jewel'.

Each of the above doublets consists of two forms of the same Arabic root, but the form with *r* appears to have come into JB at a later date and with a different meaning. Or, it may be, that JB has now begun to exploit these two sounds to express different meanings.

From these findings we may conclude:

a) In the Arabic dialect adopted by the Jews of Baghdad, CA *r* was pronounced *ġ* and not *r*.

b) The *r*-sound came into the dialect through loan words from other languages and dialects.

c) In the Hebrew language, in former times, when these words came into JB, the Heb. ר must have been *r*. For if both the Arabic ج and the Hebrew ר had been pronounced, in JB, in the same way — both *r* or both *ġ* — one could have argued that the Heb. ר might originally have been pronounced differently but was converted into its parallel form in JB so as to avoid introducing a new sound into the dialect. However, since the ר in the Hebrew words is pronounced differently from the ج in the Arabic words we may, I believe, safely assert that ר in Hebrew, at the time when these words came into the dialect, was in fact pronounced *r*. And thus, to this day, the Baghdadian Jews, in their readings of the Bible and all Hebrew texts, have *r* only as the reflex of ר.

Thus study helps also to clarify certain hitherto obscure remarks in ancient books, concerning the letter ר. In *Sefer Yesira*, written in the 6th century or earlier, seven letters are listed as doublets, that is, as being pronounced in two different ways: 'There are seven letters

possessing a double form, i.e. **בג"ד כפר"ת**, each having two sounds representing the hard and the soft, the strong and the weak'. We know of the double pronunciation of the letters **בג"ד כפר"ת**, but are surprised to find **ר** included among them. Sa'adya Ga'on (d. 940), in his commentary on *Sefer Yešira*, remarks that **ר** is pronounced in two ways by the Jews of Babylon, but only in their speech and not when reading the Hebrew Scriptures. This remark of Sa'adya Ga'on, which upto now has puzzled scholars, becomes clear in the light of this study of the Judaeo-Arabic dialect of Baghdad: in reading the Bible they use only *r*, but in their speech we hear both *r* and *ġ*.<sup>8</sup>

The study of a single JB phoneme can therefore throw light on the pronunciation, in former times, both of Arabic in the area and of Hebrew.

1.6 Finally, we must mention the consonants *p*, *g*, *č*, which do not occur in CA and which came into JB from other languages. These consonants have become so integrated with the other JB consonants that speakers of the dialect no longer feel them to be foreign, nor are they aware that these consonants occur mainly in foreign words.

1.6.1 The consonant *p* occurs in loans from Hebrew, such as *pašūq* 'verse' (Heb. פסוק); *parōxeṭ* 'curtain over the Ark in a synagogue' (Heb. פרוכת); *pēti* 'fool' (Heb. פתי).

It occurs, too, in loans from Persian and Turkish, such as *plāw* 'cooked rice' (Pers. *palāw*); *panjra* 'window' (Pers. *panjar*, Turk. *pencere*) *parda* 'curtain' (Pers. *parda*, Turk. *perde*); *pūl* 'postage stamp' (Turk. *pul*).

Also in loans from European languages: *panṭrūn* 'trousers' (French *pantalón*); *pāwun* 'pound sterling' (English *pound*).

In fact there are instances of substitution of *p* in JB for *b* in the source language, as in *peṭaḥayyīm* 'cemetery' (Heb. בית־החיים); *paysakal* 'bicycle' (English *bicycle*).

1.6.2 The consonant *g* occurs in loans from Hebrew and Aramaic, such as *gmāra* 'the Talmud' (Aramaic גמרא); *lagan* 'washing vessel' (Aramaic לגינא, לגין);<sup>9</sup> *ġōy* 'Gentile' (Heb. גוי).

<sup>8</sup> It is possible that, in the time of Sa'adya Ga'on, Aramaic was spoken by at least a section of the Jews of Babylon, and it was to their pronunciation of **ר** in Aramaic that he was referring. If so, this study serves to throw light also on the pronunciation of Aramaic, the linguistic context within which JB evolved.

<sup>9</sup> It is possible, though, that the word *lagan* came into JB from Persian.

It occurs, too, in loans from Persian and Turkish, such as:

*ẖangīn* 'rich, wealthy' (Turk. *ẖengin*);  
*čangāl* 'hook' (Pers. *čangal*, Turk. *çengel*);  
*gāmrag* 'customs' (Turk. *gümrük*).

The consonant *g* in JB occurs only rarely in Arabic words, and these are all words from a dialect in which CA *q* was pronounced *g*<sup>10</sup> or from a dialect in which CA *j* was pronounced *g*, e.g.

*gamaẖ* 'he jumped' (CA *qamaẖ*, MB *gumaẖ*);  
*marag* 'soup' (CA *maraq*, MB *marag*);  
*darag* 'drawer' (CA *dirj*).

The consonant *č* occurs in loan words from Persian and Turkish:

*čöl* 'wilderness, wasteland' (Pers. *čöl*, Turk. *çöl*).  
*čāy* 'tea' (Pers. *čāy*, Turk. *çay*).  
*čakūč* 'hammer' (Pers. *čākūč*, Turk. *çekiç*).  
*čāgak* 'quarter' (Pers. *čār yak*, Turk. *çaryek*).

It occurs, too, in loan words from European languages, e.g. *čāns* 'chance' (English and French *chance*).

There are in JB a few Arabic words with *č*. Some of these are loans from other dialects such as MB in which CA *k* is sometimes pronounced *č*. There are, too, words in which *č* is merely a compound of two consonants such as *tš*. The word *čaqḷab* (he tumbled, rolled over) is in fact *tšaqḷab*, a verb of the root *qlb*.

## 2 VOWELS

CA has only three vowels — three long (*ā*, *ī*, *ū*) and three short (*a*, *i*, *u*). In JB, as in other dialects, these vowels have undergone a change; and new vowels have been added. Some of the main changes are given below.

2.1 To the three CA long vowels JB has added another two: *ē* and *ō*. These two vowels occur, in JB as in the other dialects, mostly in place of the diphthongs *ay* and *aw* of CA. For example, CA *bayt* (house) and *yawm* (day) are pronounced in CA with diphthongs, but in JB the diphthongs are reduced to monophthongs: *bēt*, *yōm*.

However, the vowels *ē* and *ō* do not serve solely to replace diphthongs. The following section deals with a particular occurrence of *ē*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. above, § 1.1.

2.2 The long CA vowel *ā* has undergone in JB a number of shifts. It is sometimes pronounced as *ī*, sometimes *ē*, and sometimes is retained as *ā*.<sup>11</sup>

In the following words, in which CA *ā* is in proximity to CA *i*, JB has *ī*, CB has *ē*, and MB has *ā*:

- CA *jāmi* 'mosque' — JB: *jīma*<sup>ˁ</sup>; CB: *jēma*<sup>ˁ</sup>; MB: *jāma*<sup>ˁ</sup>.  
 CA *mīẓān* 'scales' — JB: *mīẓīn*; CB: *mīẓēn*; MB: *mīẓān*.  
 CA *kilāb* 'dogs' — JB: *klīb*; CB: *klēb*; MB: *ēlāb*.

In other words, such as the active participle of Form I, CA *ā* is pronounced in JB *ē*, as in CB, while MB maintains, here too, the CA vowel *ā* without any change:

- CA *jāmi* 'having gathered' — JB and CB: *jēma*<sup>ˁ</sup>; MB: *jāma*<sup>ˁ</sup>.  
 CA *kātib* 'having written' — JB and CB: *kētab*; MB: *kātab*.  
 CA *wāqif* 'standing' — JB and CB: *wēqaf*; MB: *wāguf*.

These changes have had an interesting result: while certain CA words have double meanings, the corresponding JB words have single meanings and are thus less ambiguous than CA words. In CA the word *jāmi*<sup>ˁ</sup>, for example, is both a noun meaning 'mosque' and a participle meaning 'having gathered'. But in JB the form *jīma*<sup>ˁ</sup> serves for the noun ('mosque'), while *jēma*<sup>ˁ</sup> serves for the participle ('having gathered'). This lexical split in JB words has not occurred in MB in which the single form *jāma*<sup>ˁ</sup> has both meanings, nor in CB in which *jēma*<sup>ˁ</sup> similarly carries the two meanings.

The same is true of *kātib* which serves in CA both as participle and noun, while in JB these two functions have separate forms: the form *kētab* serves for the participle ('having written'), and the form *kātab* serves for the noun ('clerk, writer'). And here, too, the change is confined to JB and has not occurred either in MB, in which both meanings are present in the single form *kātab* with the vowel *ā*, nor in CB, in which both meanings are present in the form *kētab* with the vowel *ē*.

2.3 As for the short vowels, though their number has increased from three in CA (*a*, *i*, *u*) to six in JB (*a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, *ə*), in fact most of them occur only in particular syllables and are restricted to particular phonetic contexts. With some of them, too, the difference in certain

<sup>11</sup> In Hebrew, too, this vowel has undergone a shift in many words, but here the change is from *ā* to *ō*. Compare Heb. *šalōm* (שלום) with CA *salām*; Heb. *kōteb* (כותב) with CA *kātib*, and other such words.

phonetic contexts has become so blurred that they are in effect indistinguishable.

For example, the short vowels *i* and *u* are clearly distinguishable only when they occur in final unstressed open syllables:

*ktabtu* 'I wrote' as opposed to *ktabti* 'you (f.s.) wrote';  
*bētu* 'his house' as opposed to *bēti* 'my house'.

However, in certain phonetic contexts, e.g. in closed syllables, the difference between *i* and *u* is blurred. Instead, we hear a centrally articulated vowel, something in between *i* and *u*, close to *e* in the French word *le*. This vowel is represented here by the symbol *a*. The fusion of *i* and *u* into a single vowel in such contexts has resulted in changes of form and paradigms, and distinctions present in CA are no longer present in JB.

An example of this change is to be found in the imperfect, of Form I. CA has three imperfect patterns, differing in the short vowel of the second radical, e.g. *'aṭab* (I will open), with *i*; *'aktub* (I will write), with *u*; *'anʒil* (I will go down), with *i*. In JB *'aṭaḥ* occurs, as in CA, with the vowel *a*, but the other two patterns both occur with the vowel *a*: *'aktab*, *'anʒal*; so that instead of three imperfect patterns of Form I, we have in JB, in sound roots, only two patterns.<sup>12</sup>

Another example is to be found in the noun patterns *fa'l*, *fu'l*, *fi'l*. CA distinguishes between these three patterns, e.g. *qalb* (a heart), *'uxt* (a sister), *bint* (a daughter). JB has preserved only one of these three patterns, that with the vowel *a*: *qalb*, as in CA. In the other two patterns, the distinction between *i* and *u* has been elided and these two vowels have both been replaced by *a*. The two nouns are therefore pronounced in JB: *'axt*, *bant*. The CA noun patterns, mentioned above, have thus been reduced in JB from three to two patterns.

2.4 Another notable feature of JB is the elision of a short vowel preceding the stressed syllable. For example, the CA verb *katābtu* (I wrote) is heard in JB *ktābtu*, with the elision of the short vowel *a* of the first radical. This occurs throughout the conjugation (e.g. *ktabt* 'you, m.s., wrote'; *ktabti* 'you, f.s., wrote', etc.), except in the third

<sup>12</sup> This applies only to the sound roots. In some weak roots, when the vowel of the second radical is long, all three patterns may occur in JB, e.g. *yḫāf* (he will be scared), *yqūl* (he will say), *yṣīg* (he will be).

person where this *a* is stressed: *kátab* 'he wrote', *kátbat* 'she wrote', *kátbu* 'they wrote'. This kind of elision occurs also in nouns. JB has *ktāb* (a book), *byūt* (houses), while CA has *kitāb*, *buyūt*, and many others. It would seem that speakers are in a hurry to get to the main, stressed, syllable, and any preceding vowel — if long is shortened, if short is elided.

Such elision may, however, create a consonantal cluster which cannot be articulated without an intervening vowel. An auxiliary vowel is accordingly introduced. This vowel is always *a* (with variations to accord with the adjoining consonants) and is introduced in accordance with certain phonetic laws, which may be ascertained and which can add to our knowledge of general phonetics.

### 3. THE VERB

#### 3.1 *Forms*

Of the verb Forms of CA, the 4th (*'af'ala*) does not exist in JB. It is often replaced in JB by the 2nd Form (*fa'al*). The verb 'to bring down', for example, occurs in CA in the 4th Form: *'anzala*, but in JB — in the 2nd Form: *naẓzal*. In MB and other dialects, too, little use is made of Form IV.

JB has, however, two additional Forms, restricted to a small number of verbs: *fē'al* and *fō'al* (a kind of variant of Form III: *fā'al*).<sup>13</sup> Their passive form is *tfē'al* and *tfō'al* (a kind of variant of Form VI: *tfā'al*). Examples are: *bēgak* 'to bless'; *nēšan* 'to mark, betroth'; *tnēšan* 'to be marked, betrothed'; *sōlaf* 'to chat'; *dōxan* or *tdōxan* 'to feel dizzy'; *pōqar* or *tpōqar* 'to render irreligious'.

#### 3.2 *Inflectional Suffixes of the Perfect Tense*

CA has in the perfect tense different inflectional suffixes for 1st person singular (*-tu*), 2nd person masculine singular (*-ta*), 2nd person feminine singular (*-ti*), e.g.

<sup>13</sup> Haim Blanc (Communal Dialects in Baghdad, p. 110) classifies these with quadriconsonantal root verbs with *w* or *y* as 2nd radical, as if derived from *faw'al*, *fay'al*, which have become reduced to *fō'al*, *fē'al*, as a result of diphthong reduction. However, since these forms occur also in non-Arabic words which do not have *w* or *y* in their root, I have preferred to treat them as variants of Form III: *fā'al*. The same applies to the forms *tfō'al*, *tfē'al* which, I believe, may be treated as variants of Form VI: *tfā'al*.



- katabtu* — for 1st person singular ('I wrote')  
*katabta* — for 2nd person masculine singular ('you wrote')  
*katabti* — for 2nd person feminine singular ('you wrote')

In JB the vowel *a* of the 2nd person masculine singular has been elided, but it is still possible to distinguish between the three persons: *katabtu* (1st s.), *kabt* (2nd m.s.), *kabti* (2nd f.s.). This is so, too, in CB which has the same suffixes: *katabtu* (1st s.), *kabat* (2nd m.s.), *kabti* (2nd f.s.), and retains the distinction between the three persons.

In MB, on the other hand, both the vowel *a* of the 2nd person masculine singular and the vowel *u* of the 1st person singular have been elided. As a result, the distinction between these two persons has become blurred, and instead of three forms MB has only two:

- kabat* serves both for first person singular ('I wrote') and 2nd person masculine singular ('you wrote');  
*kabti* is the 2nd person feminine singular form ('you wrote').

There is a difference, too, in the 2nd person plural form. The CA 2nd person plural suffix is *-tum*, as in *kabatum* ('you, pl., wrote'). In JB, the consonant *m* is retained: *kabtām*,<sup>14</sup> while in MB, as in some other dialects, the consonant *m* has been elided: *kabtu*.

CA has separate masculine and feminine forms in the 2nd and 3rd person plural. JB, however, like MB and CB, has only one form, and the distinction between masculine and feminine has been retained only in the 2nd and 3rd person singular.

### 3.3 *Inflectional Affixes of the Imperfect Tense*

The following imperfect tense forms deserve special mention: 2nd person feminine singular, 2nd person plural, and 3rd person plural, all of which have in CA, besides the usual prefixes, also suffixes with the consonant *n*, as in:

- taktubīna* 'you (f.s.) will write'.  
*taktubūna* 'you (pl.) will write'.  
*yaktubūna* 'they will write'.

In JB a change has taken place in the long vowel preceding the consonant *n* of the suffix (*ī* has become *ē*, and *ū* has become *ō*): *tkatbēn* (2nd f.s.), *tkatbōn* (2nd pl.), *ykatbōn* (3rd pl.). In MB and CB, on the other hand, there has been no change in this vowel. In MB we have:

<sup>14</sup> In CB too: *kabtam*.

*tkatbīn, tkatbūn, ykatbūn*; and in CB: *taktabīn, taktabūn, yaktabūn*. But the common element in these three dialects is the retention of the consonant *n* of the suffix, while in some other dialects this *n* has long been elided.

In the imperfect, as in the perfect, the feminine plural form has become extinct, and in all the three dialects the masculine plural form serves also for the feminine.

### 3.4 *The Vowel of the 2nd Radical in Form I*

In Form I CA has three perfect and three imperfect tense patterns, which are distinguished by a difference in the vowel of the 2nd radical.

3.4.1 The three CA perfect tense patterns are: *fa'ala, fa'ula, fa'ila*, as in: *kataba* 'he wrote', *kabura* 'he grew', *labisa* 'he got dressed'.

In JB these three patterns have been reduced to a single pattern with the vowel *a*: *katab, kabag, labas*. MB, too, has only a single pattern, but here, in certain phonetic contexts, the 1st radical has the vowel *u* instead of *a*, as in *kubar*. CB, on the other hand, has retained two patterns: *katab* as against *kabag, labas*.<sup>15</sup>

3.4.2 The three CA imperfect patterns are: *yaf'al, yaf'ul, yaf'il*. MB has retained all three patterns. In JB, however, the distinction between *i* and *u* in closed syllables has become blurred and both are pronounced *a*. Consequently only two patterns have remained, as described above, § 2.3.

## 4. THE NOUN

### 4.1 *The Feminine Suffix*

In CA the feminine suffix of the noun has the vowel *a*. This is so, too, in MB. But in JB it is either *a* or *i*, depending on the preceding vowel. If, for example, the final vowel in the masculine form of the noun is *i* — then the feminine suffix vowel is generally also *i*, as in:

*faqīr* 'poor' (m.) — *faqīri* (f.)  
*ṭwīl* 'long' (m.) — *ṭwīli* (f.).  
*ṣangīm* 'rich, wealthy' (m.) — *ṣangīni* (f.).

<sup>15</sup> The patterns *kabag, labas*, with *a*, are also likely to be heard in CB.

But if the final vowel in the masculine form is *a* or *u* — then the feminine suffix vowel is generally *a*, as in:

*kalb* (m.) ‘dog’ — *kalba* (f.)  
*maktūb* (m.) ‘written’ — *maktūba* (f.)

In CB, too, the feminine suffix vowel is either *a* or *i*, but the conditioning factors differ.

#### 4.2 *The Plural Suffix*

In JB, as in CA and other dialects, there are two ways of forming the plural:

a) By using a pattern different from that of the singular (‘the broken plural’), as in: *walad* (a child) — *wlād* (children); *jēb* (a pocket) — *jyūb* (pockets).

JB also does this with non-Arabic words, such as *panjra* (a window), from Persian or Turkish, whose plural in JB is *pnījār*. So, too, the Hebrew word *səddūr* (a prayer book), whose plural is *sdadīr* (pronounced: *ʔdadīr*).

b) By the addition of a suffix to the singular (‘the sound plural’).

The two main JB plural suffixes are the regular Arabic suffixes: *-īn*, *-āt*, as in:

*ʔangīn* (s.) ‘rich’ — *ʔanginīn* (pl.);  
*badla* (s.) ‘suit of clothes’ — *bədlāt* (pl.)

But JB has also two additional plural suffixes, borrowed from the Hebrew and used mainly with Hebrew words: *-īm*, *-ōt*, as in:

*ḥaxām* (s.) ‘rabbi’ — *ḥaxamīm* (pl.);  
*sēfər* (s.) ‘Pentateuch scroll’ — *sfarīm* (pl.);  
*brāxa* (s.) ‘blessing’ — *braxōt* (pl.).

The noun *ʔlā* (a synagogue), though not a Hebrew word, is nevertheless pluralized as such: *ʔlawōt*.

### 5. PARTICLES AND PREFIXES

In this section only a few particles and prefixes will be considered.

#### 5.1 *The Present Tense Marker*

In CA the verb has only two forms to indicate time: *fa‘ala* (which we call ‘perfect’) for past time, and *yaf‘al* (‘imperfect’) for both future

and present time. Many dialects, however, have developed a special 'present', formed by the addition of a particle or a prefix to the imperfect form. Some dialects, for example, add *b-* for this purpose, as in: *birīd yiktob* 'he wishes to write'.

In JB the present tense marker is *qad* before the 1st person singular of the imperfect, and *qa* before all the other persons:

*qadaktəb* 'I am writing';  
*qanməktəb* 'we are writing'.

CB, too, has the marker *qa*, but it is used with all the persons of the imperfect, including the first person singular:

*qa'aktəb* or *qaktəb* 'I am writing'.

In MB, however, the present tense marker is *da* or *gā'ad* before the imperfect.

It is worth noting that the Aramaic text of the Babylonian Talmud contains a form parallel to the marker *qa* of JB. I refer to the particle *קא*, as in: *קאמר* (*qa'amar*) 'he says'.

### 5.2 Modal Markers

In JB the preposed *da* with the 1st person of the imperfect has optative function. It can convey a wish, a request, an urging, as in *dangūh* 'let's go!'. MB and CB, too, use this marker with the same meaning.

A similar meaning is produced by the addition of the word *xalli* before the 1st and 3rd person of the imperfect: *xalligūh* 'let him go!'. This particle, too, is common to all the three dialects of Baghdad.

The negative particle *ma* with the 2nd person of the imperfect expresses negation in JB only when it is stressed, as in: *má-təji* 'you wo'nt come'. But if the stress is on the verb itself, this particle expresses modality and not negation: *ma-təji* means 'do come!' 'come along, will you!'. It serves here as an emphatic imperative particle.

### 5.3 The Indefinite Particle

The particle *fağad* or *fadd* in JB (as in MB and CB) expresses indefiniteness, as opposed to the definite article *l-*: *fadd-yōm* 'one day', *fadd-wēḥad* 'a certain person'. This is so only when the particle is unstressed. When stressed, *fadd* means 'only': *fádd-wēḥad* 'only one'.

#### 5.4 *The Particle māl*

CA has no equivalent for the English word 'of', but the various dialects have developed particles to express this concept. Both JB, MB and CB, use, for this purpose, the particle *māl*, denoting possession, relation, etc.:

*ləḥkiyyi mal-əssafaḡ* 'the story of the journey'  
*ləm'allam māləm* 'their teacher'.

### 6. SYNTACTIC CONSTRUCTIONS

The following are some of syntactic features characteristic of JB.

#### 6.1 *The Definite Article in Noun-Adjective Constructions*

It is a rule, both in Hebrew and in Arabic, that the adjective must agree with its noun not only in number and gender but also in definiteness. We may say either **בית גדול** (a big house) or **הבית הגדול** (the big house), but not **בית הגדול**. If the noun has a definite article, the adjective must also have a definite article. However, we do find in Hebrew, particularly in Mishnaic Hebrew, constructions in which the adjective alone has a definite article, and the governing noun is without the article, as in:

**עולם הבא** 'the world to come';  
**שער העליון** 'the upper gate'.

It is interesting to note, that this construction is actually quite common in JB. Examples are:

*'īd-əlyəmna* 'the right hand'.  
*šlat ləkbīḡi* 'the big synagogue'.  
*šlat ləjdīdi* 'the new synagogue'.  
*sant-əllax* 'next year'.

#### 6.2 *Objective Pronominal Suffix plus Noun Object*

In JB the object may appear twice: first as a pronominal suffix and then the noun object itself:

*'axadu ləbnu* 'he took his son' (lit. he took him, his son)  
*qallu labūnu* 'he said to his father' (lit. he said to him, to his father).  
*qayḥabba lamḡātu* 'he loves his wife'. (lit. he loves her, his wife).

This construction is the regular one in JB. And we find it too in Mishnaic Hebrew, e.g. **אמרו לו לרבי עקיבא** 'they told Rabbi Aqiba'

(lit. they said to him, to Rabbi Aqiba). אמרו עליו על רבי יוחנן 'they said about Rabbi Yoḥanan' (lit. they said about him, about Rabbi Yoḥanan).

### 6.3 *A Double Construct State*

A construction that also occurs in Mishnaic Hebrew is 'the double construct state': a possessive pronoun relating to a following noun, e.g.

רבונו של עולם 'Lord Almighty';  
ביתו של אדם 'the man's house'.

In JB this is the regular construction:

*ṣdīqu lālfagīr* 'the poor man's friend';  
*'ammu labrahām* 'Abraham's uncle'.

## 7. VOCABULARY

7.1 JB, as an Arabic dialect, shares many Arabic words with the other Arabic dialects. But each dialect, or group of dialects, have certain characteristic words. Those given below are characteristic of JB as well as the other dialects of Baghdad. The words are recorded here as pronounced in JB. They occur also in MB and CB, or at least in one of them, but may be pronounced differently in those dialects to accord with the sound system of the dialect.

Examples of nouns:

*bəzʒūna* 'cat'; *jǧēdi* 'mouse, rat';  
*ḥanṭa* 'wheat'; *ṭamman* 'uncooked rice';  
*ḥwās* 'clothes'; *qabba* in the sense of 'a room'.

Verbs:

*ṭallab* 'to hang on to, cling to';  
*ṭaqlab* 'to tumble, fall over, fall head over heels' (hence: *ṭaqlamba* 'somersault, tumble');  
*ṣaffaṭ* 'to arrange in its place';  
*gadda* 'to beg for alms' (hence: *mgaddi* 'beggar');  
*halhal* 'to produce a trilling sound with the tongue'.

Particles:

*'aku* 'there is, there are'; *māku* 'there isn't, there is no';  
*māšwāg* 'short time, moment';  
*kallaš* 'very', e.g. *kallaš 'āl* 'very good';

*lō* in the sense of 'or';  
*ʾaš* 'what' (e.g. *ʾaš qatḡīd* 'what do you want?'), and its combinations:  
*ʾašbak* 'what's wrong with you?';  
*ʾašaku* 'what's the matter?';  
*ʾaškunāyi* 'what's this?';  
*ʾašlon* 'how?', e.g. *ʾašlon keḡfak* 'how are you?';  
*ʾašqad* 'how much? how many?', etc.

7.2 As for loan words, a common feature of the various dialects of Baghdad is the large number of loan words from Persian and Turkish, due to the proximity of these countries to Iraq. Turkish words penetrated as a result also of the long Ottoman rule in Iraq. Since a large number of them occur both in Persian and in Turkish, it is difficult to tell from which language they were borrowed.

It is interesting to note, that many Persian and Turkish words, which penetrated into JB, relate to everyday matters. Examples are:

*ʾaḡaxāna* 'pharmacy';  
*jām* 'glass (the material)';  
*čāra* 'cure, remedy'; and in metaphorical sense: *māku čāra* 'there is no help for it!';  
*čarpāya* or *čarpāyi* 'bedstead';  
*čarčaf* 'bedsheet';  
*čarx* 'wheel';  
*čāḡak* 'quarter';  
*čəqqūč* 'pocket knife';  
*čakūč* 'hammer';  
*čəngāl* 'hook';  
*mēč* 'table';  
*mīwa* 'fruit'.

Particles, too, have been borrowed from Persian and Turkish, e.g.

*čənki* 'since, because';  
*xōš* 'good', e.g. *xōš ʾādmī* 'good person';  
*garag* 'probably';  
*hič* 'nothing';  
*ham*, *hamzed* 'also, too'.

Among these loan particles the suffix *-či* is worth noting. It comes from Turkish and signifies 'tradesman' or 'one who works in a particular trade', as for example: *ʾaḡāči* 'pharmacist'; *bəstanči* 'gardener'; *bōyači* 'painter'; *pōštači* 'postman'; *tanakči* 'tinsmith'; *jāmči* 'glazier'; *kundarči* 'shoemaker, cobbler', etc.

7.3 Of the non-Arabic lexical items, it is the Hebrew and the Judaeo-Aramaic elements that distinguish JB from the dialects of the other religious communities.

In general, the Hebrew words in JB are pronounced as the Jews of Baghdad pronounce them in reading the Bible. But some phonetic changes have occurred.

One difference is the place of the stress: In reading the Bible the Jews of Baghdad follow the Tiberian rules of stress distribution, but in their JB dialect they stress the Hebrew words according to the rules that apply in JB. Consequently many Hebrew words with ultimate stress acquire penultimate stress in JB. For example, the words *tōra* (תורה 'the Pentateuch') and *māsša* (מצה 'unleavened bread') are pronounced with penultimate stress in JB, while in reading the Bible they are pronounced *torá*, *maššá*, with ultimate stress. The same difference occurs with proper names: *léwi* (לוי), *ḥanna* (חנה) *mnášši* (מנשה), etc., with penultimate stress, in JB, as against *lewí*, *ḥanná*, *menaššé*, with ultimate stress, in the Bible.

The vowels, too, are sometimes adapted to the phonetic rules of JB. One such case is the replacement of the Hebrew vowels *i* and *u*, in closed syllables, by *a*. For example, the word *sukka* (סוכה 'booth built for the Feast of Tabernacles'), which has the vowel *u*, and the word *minḥa* (מנחה 'afternoon prayer'), which has *i*, are both pronounced in JB with *a*: *sákka*, *mánḥa*.

The main field in which most Hebrew words occur in JB, is, naturally, that of Jewish religion and ritual. Some examples follow.

Some of the Jewish festivals are called in JB by the same names as in Hebrew, such as *raššāna* (ראש השנה) 'the New Year', *kaḥppūr* (כפור) 'The Day of Atonement', *ḥnəkka* (חנוכה) 'the Feast of Dedication'. But for the Seder ceremony on Passover night, for example, JB has coined a new word: *šattāxa*. In the Passover Haggada we read: **השתא הכא – לשנה הבאה בארעא דישראל**; **השתא הכא עבדי – לשנה הבאה בארעא דישראל בני חורין** 'this year we are here, next year in the Land of Israel; this year we are here slaves, next year we shall be free in the Land of Israel'. From the Aramaic words **השתא הכא** JB has derived the noun *šattāxa*, and from this noun, a verb *šattax*, meaning 'to make the Seder'.

Words connected with prayers and blessings are also derived from Hebrew, e.g. *saddūr* (סדור) 'prayer book', *manḥa* (מנחה) 'the afternoon prayer', *'arbīt* (ערבית) 'the evening prayer', *brāxa* (ברכה) 'blessing',



*hammōṣi* (המוציא) 'the blessing for bread',<sup>16</sup> etc. Verbs may also be derived from such nouns. For example, from the word *hammōṣi* mentioned above, the verb *hammaṣ* is derived, meaning 'to say the blessing for bread'.

And in the field of Jewish religion in general, we find words such as *mīla* (מילה) 'circumcision', *paḏyōn* (פדיין) 'redeeming of the first-born son', *maṣwa* (מצוה) 'good deed', and others.

Hebrew words are not confined to the field of religion and ritual, e.g. *maṣṣāl* (מזל) 'luck'; *nšāma* (נשמה) 'soul'; *kabōd* (כבוד) 'honour'; *sakkāna* (סכנה) 'danger'; *mḥīla* (מחילה) 'pardon, forgiveness'.

Moreover, even words connected with Jewish religion are sometimes used metaphorically in non-religious contexts — which is evidence of their creative potential and complete integration in JB.

Thus the name of the fast day *taš'abāb* (תשעה באב) 'the 9th of Ab' is used also to refer to an unhappy, perpetually complaining person, as well as to an unkempt person. If we say of someone *wuṣṣu wuṣṣ taš'abāb* ('he has a 9th of Ab face') we mean he has a mournful face.

The word *'ēxa* (איכה) which is the title of the Book of Lamentations has acquired metaphorical meaning and signifies suffering, e.g. *qaḡa 'ēxa* not only means 'he read the Book of Lamentations', but also 'he recounted his troubles'. We find, too, the collocation *'ēxa w-taš'abāb* (איכה ותשעה באב) used to describe a person who is perpetually complaining, and weeping over his troubles.

The noun *'etrogāyi* (the citron fruit אתרוג), one of the four fruits in the Feast of Tabernicals, is also used to refer to any precious object which is carefully protected. One may, for example, say of a girl *ḥalwa kanni 'etrogāyi* 'she is as lovely and dainty as the citron fruit'.

To sum up: The Judaeo-Arabic dialect of Baghdad has certain characteristic features, and the study of this dialect has a contribution to make to our knowledge of the Hebrew and Arabic languages as well as to general linguistics. But the study is still in its early stages and much more data has yet to be collected. Since the dialect is about to become extinct, it is imperative to collect this data while those who still speak it, as it was spoken in Baghdad and the surrounding areas, are still living. And this must be done soon.

<sup>16</sup> The word המוציא ('who bringeth forth') is the beginning of the blessing for bread: המוציא לחם מן הארץ giving thanks to God 'who bringeth forth bread from the earth'.

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FIVE FRAGMENTARY ARAMAIC  
MARRIAGE DOCUMENTS:  
NEW COLLATIONS AND RESTORATIONS

BY

BEZALEL PORTEN

The publication of fragmentary texts poses a basic question — how much restoration and interpretation should the editor provide. Editors of Aramaic texts have taken one of three approaches. The first, which we may designate the “zero” approach, provides no restoration and no interpretation. At most it will restore a partially damaged word at either edge of the fragment. This approach was adopted by J.B. Segal in his recent edition of the Saqqarah papyri.<sup>1</sup> However, whatever text was preserved he sought to translate, even word for word where the context made no sense, and supplied elaborate philological notes, even where the readings were most uncertain. The second approach, which I designate “minimalist”, was adopted by Eduard Sachau,<sup>2</sup> Arthur Ungnad<sup>3</sup> and Emil G. Kraeling (= K).<sup>4</sup> For the most part they refrained from restoring missing text but often proposed restorations in the notes and interpretations in a general discussion of the meaning of each document. The third approach was adopted by Arthur Cowley (= C) in his reedition of previously published texts,<sup>5</sup> and he was followed closely by Pierre Grelot in his French translation.<sup>6</sup> I designate this approach “maximalist” since it seeks to restore to the maximum every fragmentary text, while taking care “in the notes to distinguish between what is certain and what is conjectural”.<sup>7</sup> This approach is helpful insofar as it gives the text meaning but harmful

<sup>1</sup> J.B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqâra with Some Fragments in Phoenician* (London, 1983).

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine* (Leipzig, 1911).

<sup>3</sup> A. Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine* (Leipzig, 1911).

<sup>4</sup> E.G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, 1953).

<sup>5</sup> A.E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923).

<sup>6</sup> P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypte* (Paris, 1972).

<sup>7</sup> Cowley, p. xxxiii.

since it bestows a canonicity on what remains an uncertain text. Most likely to be led astray by this approach are the novice and the non-specialist, both of whom may be unable to distinguish between varying shades of “certainty” and “conjecture”. Not to restore at all and/or to refrain from interpretation is to abdicate some of the authority of the specialist; to restore indiscriminately is to mislead the unwary. We have thus adopted a fourth approach which we designate “intermediate”. We seek to distinguish between restorations which are highly *probable* because of their formulaic nature or slot of occurrence and those which are only *possible*. The latter, though formulaically correct, do not exclude alternate possibilities. While these restorations seek to give the sense of the document they must remain tentative. The palaeographer Ada Yardeni contributed much to the interpretations of these documents and her hand-copies are visual support for our restorations. *Probable* restorations are drawn with hollow letters and *possible* ones with single stroke letters. In the printed Aramaic text and English translation the *possible* restorations have been reproduced in different font. A similar distinction in font between “reasonably certain” restorations and “conjectural” ones was made by James M. Lindenberger in his edition of *The Aramaic Proverbs of Abiqar* (Baltimore, 1983).

Of the five Elephantine documents presented herein, one was acquired by Charles Edwin Wilbour, probably in 1893, and published by Emil G. Kraeling for the Brooklyn Museum in 1953 (K 14); four were discovered in excavation by Otto Rubensohn in 1907-08, published by Eduard Sachau in 1911, and reissued by Cowley in 1923 (C 18, 36, 46, 48). Only one of the Cowley documents was reproduced in the 1972 French translation of P. Grelot (C 18 = Grelot No. 5). Only one of the Sachau texts remains at the Berlin Museum (C 18); the other three were transferred to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. In preparation of a new Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt<sup>8</sup> I have travelled to each one of the museums to examine the documents first-hand. In several instances new joins and rearrangement of fragments were possible. In every instance the emerging text differs from that of the earlier editors. The documents are presented here with the sigla and format they have in volume II of the *Textbook*.

<sup>8</sup> B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt. Volume 1: Letters* (Jerusalem, 1986); *Volume 2: Contracts* (Jerusalem, 1989); see pp. ix-x for bibliographical abbreviations.

**B2.5 Cowley 48 (Sachau Plate 35)**

(Cowley 48:1-2 = lines 4-5)

Middle of 5<sup>th</sup> Century B.C.E.**RECTO**

] והן לא יחבת לך

1. כִּסְפָא זֶנָה זִי כְּתִיב מִן עֵלָא וְלֹא אֵתְ[יֵת עַל מַפְטָחִיָּה]

2. בְּרֵתְךָ לְמִלְקָחָה לְאַנְתּוֹן אֲנִתְּךָ לְמַחְסִיָּה [כִּסְף כְּרֶשֶׁן ]

3. בֵּר זְכוּר טְ]

4. מִשְׁלָם] בֵּר .]

1. כִּסְפָא זֶנָה : C מְכַל כִּסְפָא ; וְלֹא אֵתְ[יֵת עַל מַפְטָחִיָּה] : C וְלֹא א... 2. לְמַחְסִיָּה [כִּסְף כְּרֶשֶׁן] : C לְמַחְסִיָּה... 4. מִשְׁלָם] :

Porten, *Archives*, 137, 139; Porten, "Fragmentary Contracts", 256-57; Porten, "Jews in Egypt", 394-95; Porten "Missing Endorsements", 528; Yaron, *Elephantine*, 2-3.

**Fragment from Betrothal Contract****RECTO**

(BEGINNING MISSING)

Penalty [... *And if I do not give you*] <sup>1</sup>this silver which is written above and I do not co[me to *Miptabiah*] <sup>2</sup>your daughter to take her for wifehood, I shall give to Mahseiah [silver, x karsh ...]

(TEXT MISSING)

Witnesses [PN] <sup>3</sup>son of Zaccur ... [...] <sup>4</sup>Meshull[am] son of P[N]

(BOTTOM MISSING)



The handwriting (cf. *aleph*, *yod*, *taw*) and spacing between the lines of this fragment show a striking resemblance to C 47 (already Sachau, who also compared the *qoph*).<sup>9</sup> Like C 47, this too would have been written by Nathan b. Anani, closer to his earlier documents (C 15 [458?], 10 [456] than to his later (K 2 [449]; C 13 [446]). If the preserved text represents two vertical bands, then the piece was originally ca. 30 cm, a width otherwise first encountered in 449 (K 2, also by Nathan b. Anani). On the other hand, the restoration of the text in line 2 would allow a narrower 28 cm. width, used by Nathan in the earlier C 10 and 15(?). The formulary is unique. Cowley thought the document was a marriage contract and Mahseiah was acting on behalf of his minor daughter, perhaps the famed Mibtahiah (cf. C 8, 13, 15, 20, 25, 28). We would prefer to interpret the text as a Contract of Betrothal. Moving the small fragment from above to below the large fragment, we read the beginning of line 2 *ksp znh*, “this silver” (so Ada Yardeni contra Cowley’s *mn kl ksp*) and restore the end of line 1 [*whn l’ ybht lk*], “[And if I do not give you] this silver which is written above”. The groom, either Jezaniah b. Uriah (cf. C 9:2-4 [460/59 B.C.E.]) or Eshor b. Şeha (C 15 [458?]), promised to pay Mahseiah a sum of money (the mohar [cf. C 15:4-5]) and take his daughter in marriage. These final clauses stipulate the penalty if he does not pay the money and does not take the daughter. Thus we restore the end of line 2 *wl’ ’t[yt ’l mpt̥hyb] brtk* ..., “And if I do not co[me to Miptahiah] your daughter to take her for wifehood” (contra Cowley’s understanding, *wl’ ’[khl*, “I shall not [be able] ... if I wish another wife than your daughter”). The spelling *mpt̥hyb* rather than *mb̥thyb* is that regularly employed by the scribe Nathan (C 13:2, 4, 15:3, 5, 6, 18 [*bis*], 20, 22, 27, 29, 33-36). The verb *’th* is regularly used of the party who approaches another in a transaction (C 5:3; K 3:22sl), particularly of a groom approaching the proprietor of the bride (C 15:3; K 2:3, 7:3, 14:3). In Deut. 25:5 Hebrew *b’* and *lqh* are used of the levir who “comes to” his brother’s widow and “takes” her for a wife (cf. too Deut 21:13). The small fragment contains the names of witnesses to the document. What Sachau and Cowley read as the upper part of *mn kl ksp*’ should be read as *mšlm br* (Ada Yardeni). It is tempting to restore either of them as Meshullam b. Zaccur the noted creditor (C 10 [456]), slave-owner (K 2 [449]), and property-holder (C 13 [446]).

<sup>9</sup> For prior treatment of this text cf. B. Porten, “The Restoration of Fragmentary Aramaic Marriage Contracts”, I.D. Passow and S.T. Lachs, eds., *Gratz College Anniversary Volume* (Philadelphia, 1971), 256-257.



## B6.1 Kraeling 14

April 30, 446 B.C.E.

## RECTO

1. ב [ ] לאיר הו יום 3 לתעבי שנת[ ] ר [ ] ארתחשסש מלכא אמר בר [ ]  
 2. ארמי זי יב בירתא לדגל אדנבו ל[ ] בר יהודי זי יב בירתא לדגל [ ]  
 3. לאמר אנה אתית עליך בביתך ושאל[ ] מנך ל ברתך לאנתו ויהבתה לי הי אנתתי  
 4. ואנה בעלה מן יומא זנה עד על[ ] ויהבת לך מהר ברתך כבסך כרש ו באבני  
 5. מלכא כסף ר [ ] לכרש ו על עליך וטיב לבכך בנו הנעלת לי ברתך תכונה זי  
 6. כסף כרש לבש ו זי קמר חדת לאמן [ ]  
 7. [ ] שוה כסף [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] חטיב  
 8. [צבע ידן פשך] ו לפם ו שוה כסף [כרש] ו [ ]  
 9. [ ] חט[ ] יב צבע יד[ ]

1. שנת: K ב[שנת] 2. ל[ ] ל: K ... 4. עד: K [ו]עד 5. מלכא כסף ר[ ] לכרש[ ] = K frags.  $d + b =$  6. כסף  
 K frag.  $d$  bot. = [כרש] 9. חט[ ] יב: K frag.  $a$  bot. [חט]ב

Porten, "Aramaic Contracts", 41; Porten, "Calendar"; Porten, "Fragmentary Contracts", 243-255; Porten, "Fragmentary Documents"; Porten, "Jews in Egypt", 380, 394-95; Yaron, *Elephantine*, 14, 57ff.





Insofar as the Brooklyn Museum acquisition numbers are indicative, K 14 and 16 (a letter) were found together and were separate from the Anani family archive (K 1-12). Unfortunately, the names of all three parties are missing, though *lamed* is preserved as the third letter of the name of the proprietor of the bride. This name could apply to four males, all of whom are known to have had daughters ca. 400 B.C.E. — Meshullam, Gedaliah, Islah and Zapeliah (C 22:93, 101, 103, 106) — as well as to Meshullach (C 22:68). While the handwriting points to Mauziah b. Nathan (otherwise attested between 434 [K 4] and 413 [C 45]), restoration of the date formula leads to April 30, 446 B.C.E. If any of the above were the father of the bride, the contributors in C 22 would have been old women. But other men might be involved since the names occur earlier as well. Because of the highly formulaic nature of the beginning of a document of wifehood, we may restore our text on the model of K 7, written by Mauziah in 420. The right half of our document has been preserved and we assume a total width of ca. 30.5 cm. like K 7. Since we have already treated this document in an initial study,<sup>10</sup> we present here only our revisions.

#### I. *Date* (1):

A synchronism of 8 Iyyar and 20 Tybi is achieved for 19 Artaxerxes if we assume that the document was drawn up on the night of April 30, since 8 Iyyar = May 1. No other year in the second half of the century comes into consideration.

#### II. *Parties* (1-2):

See introduction. Whether the proprietor of the bride was also *'rmy zy yb*, "Aramean of Elephantine" must remain uncertain. He may have been of a different detachment or of the same detachment as the groom, in which case we should restore the end of line 2 *ldkm dgl'*, "of the same detachment" (as in K 7:2).

#### III. *Marriage* (3-4):

No change.

#### IV. *Mobar* (4-5):

The left edge of fragment *b* was attached upside down and has now been cut away and attached at the top of the fragment (so Ada Yardeni). The right edge of fragment *b* is to be attached to the left

<sup>10</sup> For prior treatment of this text see *ibid.*, 243-256.

edge of fragment *d* and the restored fragment placed at the beginning of line 5 where we read ... *r 2 lkr* [š 1, "... 2 q(uarters) to [1] kar(sh)" instead of *l* [š *rt*].

V. *Dowry* (5-9):

For reasons of spacing we must restore the end of line 5 and the beginning of line 6 [*tkwnh zy*] *ksp*, "[money in] silver". Lines 6-8 have been restored on the model of K 7:6-9, such that the measurements in line 8 apply to the second, and not to the first garment.

## B6.2 Cowley 36 (Sachau Plate 10)

(Cowley 36: frag. *b* left = lines 1-2; 36: 1-4 = lines 4-7; frag. *b* right = line 8; frag. *c* omitted)  
Second Half of 5<sup>th</sup> Century B.C.E.

	RECTO
1. ] י קמר חדת י אמן	[דמוהי כסף כ "
2. ] י קמר חדת י אמן	דמי כסף [שקלן וו וו
3. ] י קמר חדת י אמן	[ דמי כסף שקלן
4. חדת זין [אמן] ב	דמי כסף שקלן
5. אמן וו ו פשכן וו ב	דמי כסף שקלן ו שבט י חדת י אמן
6. וו וו ב וו חרת דמי כסף שקלן וו חלרן ז מִסְחָטָה י חדתה י קמר דמי כסף	י חדת י
7. חלרן י כס י די נחש דמי כסף חלרן ר וו ו זלוצ י די נחשן דמן' כסף שקלן ו זל[וע ז]	י חדת י
8. [די נחש דמי כסף שקלן חלרן	י חדת י

6. מִסְחָטָה 3 C line 6. חדתה C: (Sachau) 5. שביט: C 6. ... 5. חדת י (Sachau) 6. מִסְחָטָה 3 C line 6. זין [אמן]: 1 C line 1; ופשכן: C 2; כן 5. שביט: C 6. ... 5. חדת י (Sachau) 6. מִסְחָטָה 3 C line 6. כס: 4 C line 4; כן: [דמן' כסף: C frag. *b* right; וזלוצ: C: 1; זל: 6. מִסְחָטָה 3 C line 6.

Naveh, "Aramaic Script", 33; Porten, "Fragmentary Contracts", 257-61; Porten, "Fragmentary Documents"; Porten, "Jews in Egypt", 394; Verger, *Ricerche*, 106; Yaron, *Elephantine*, 2.

## Dowry Fragment from a Document of Wifehood

## RECTO

## (BEGINNING MISSING)

Dowry			
20.0 shekels	<sup>1</sup> [1 new woolen garment, of cubits x by y],	its value (in) silver (being) 2	
		k(arsh);	
8.0 shekels	<sup>2</sup> [1 new woolen garment, of cubits x by y,	valued (in) silver (at)] 8 shekels;	
	<sup>3</sup> [1 new woolen garment, of cubits x by y,	valued (in) silver (at) z shekels;	
	1] <sup>4</sup> new <sup>3</sup> [garment], <sup>4</sup> of [cu]bits [x by y]		
	and [z] handbreadths,	[valued (in) silver (at) x shekels;	
	1 new garment, of] <sup>5</sup> cubits 5 (and) 4 hand-		
3.0 shekels	breadths by 3 and 4 handbreadths,	valued (in) silver (at) 3 shekels;	
4.5 shekels	1 new SHAWL, of cubits <sup>6</sup> 7 by 4 and a	valued (in) silver (at) 4 shekels, 20	
	span,	hallurs;	
.25 shekels	1 new woolen m\w d r s\btb	valued (in) silver <sup>7</sup> (at) 10 hallurs;	
.375 shekels	1 bronze cup,	valued (in) silver (at) 15 hallurs;	
2.0 shekels	1 bronze jug,	[valued (in) silver (at) 2 shekels;	
	[1 <sup>8</sup> bronze] <sup>7</sup> [jug,	<sup>8</sup> valued (in) silver (at) ...;	
	...	...	
38.125 + shekels	...]	valued [(in) silver (at) ...	
	(BOTTOM MISSING)		





Cowley restored four lines of this fragmentary document<sup>11</sup> and noted correctly that the two halves of fragment *b* do not belong together. Since the dowry objects generally decrease in value, fragment *b*-left must come at the top left edge. Since the last words in the 2nd line of this fragment ("8 shekels") conclude an entry and the first word in the main piece (*hdt*, "new") marks the middle of an entry, a line must have intervened. We thus restore three lines with  $3\frac{1}{2}$  descriptions of woolen garments at the beginning of the document. The decrease in value is not absolute; we have 3 shekels  $\rightarrow 4\frac{1}{2}$  shekels  $\rightarrow 1\frac{1}{4}$  shekel. We may thus place fragment *b*-right at the left edge because it lists a  $\text{z}[\text{w}^*]$ , which fits well following the previously mentioned  $\text{z}[\text{w}^*]$ , "jug", even though the values resulting from this placement increase:  $\frac{3}{8}$  shekel  $\rightarrow 2$  shekels. The bottom of this fragment adds another line to the document, making eight in all. Though the scribe is unidentifiable, the handwriting falls into the second half of the fifth century and the 28 cm. medium width places our document in the category of K 4 (434 B.C.E.) and C 20 (420 B.C.E.). Fragment *c* defies decipherment and remains unplaced; the two halves may not even join.

The end of the first line has *k* 2, "2 k(arsh)". Mibtahiah's first garment was worth 2 karsh 8 shekels (C 15:8) and the shekel amount for our garment may have been found in line 2. Ungnad and Sachau were correct in reading *hdt zy* at the end of line 5 (contra Cowley's *hdt h*, his line 2) and such should be read at the beginning of line 4 and restored at the end of the line. The usage, *zy 'mn*, "of cubits", to be read at the beginning of line 4 (contra Cowley's 11 *kn*) and the end of line 5, is unique to this document. Mauziah b. Nathan used *l'mn* in this slot (K 7:6-9). In line 5 we read *shyt* (despite Cowley), in line 6 (= Cowley line 3) an uncertain *mshth*,<sup>12</sup> in line 7 *ks*, "cup" (contra Cowley's *kp*, his line 4), and at the end of the line (from fragment *b*-right) [*dm*] *y ksp sqln 2 z[w\* 1]*, "[valu]ed (in) silver (at) 2 shekels, [1] j[u]g". The *shin* read by Cowley in the middle of line 4 (his line 1) can be filled in to read *wpshkn*, "and handbreadths". Unlike the two other documents of wifehood, where garment measurements are in whole cubits, rarely indicating a handbreadth (only K 7:6), here at

<sup>11</sup> For prior treatment of this text see *ibid.*, 257-261.

<sup>12</sup> The second letter may be read as *r*, *w* or *s*. Our earlier proposed restoration (*ibid.*, 259) of this word as *mr[t]th*, "garment" cannot be sustained. Examination of the papyrus and an infra-red photograph show that the third letter is most likely a *heth* and not a *teth*.

least three garments include measurements in handbreadths and a span. Our garments appear to be of somewhat intermediate size and price — the SHAWL at  $7 \times 4 \frac{1}{2}$  cubits (lines 5-6) is smaller than Mibtahiah's  $8 \times 5$  and larger than Jehoishma's  $6 \times 5 \frac{1}{2}$  [so restore!] though both of those are worth 8 shekels (C 15:9-10; K 7:9-10) and ours only 4 shekels; a second garment worth 3 shekels measures  $5 \frac{2}{3} \times 3 \frac{2}{3}$  cubits while most of the other brides' garments measure  $6 \times 4$  (only one is  $6 \times 3$ ) and range in value from 10 shekels to 1 shekel (C 15:10-11; K 7:7-12).

## B6.3 Cowley 46 (Sachau Plate 31)

Ca. Third Quarter of 5<sup>th</sup> Century B.C.E.

## RECTO

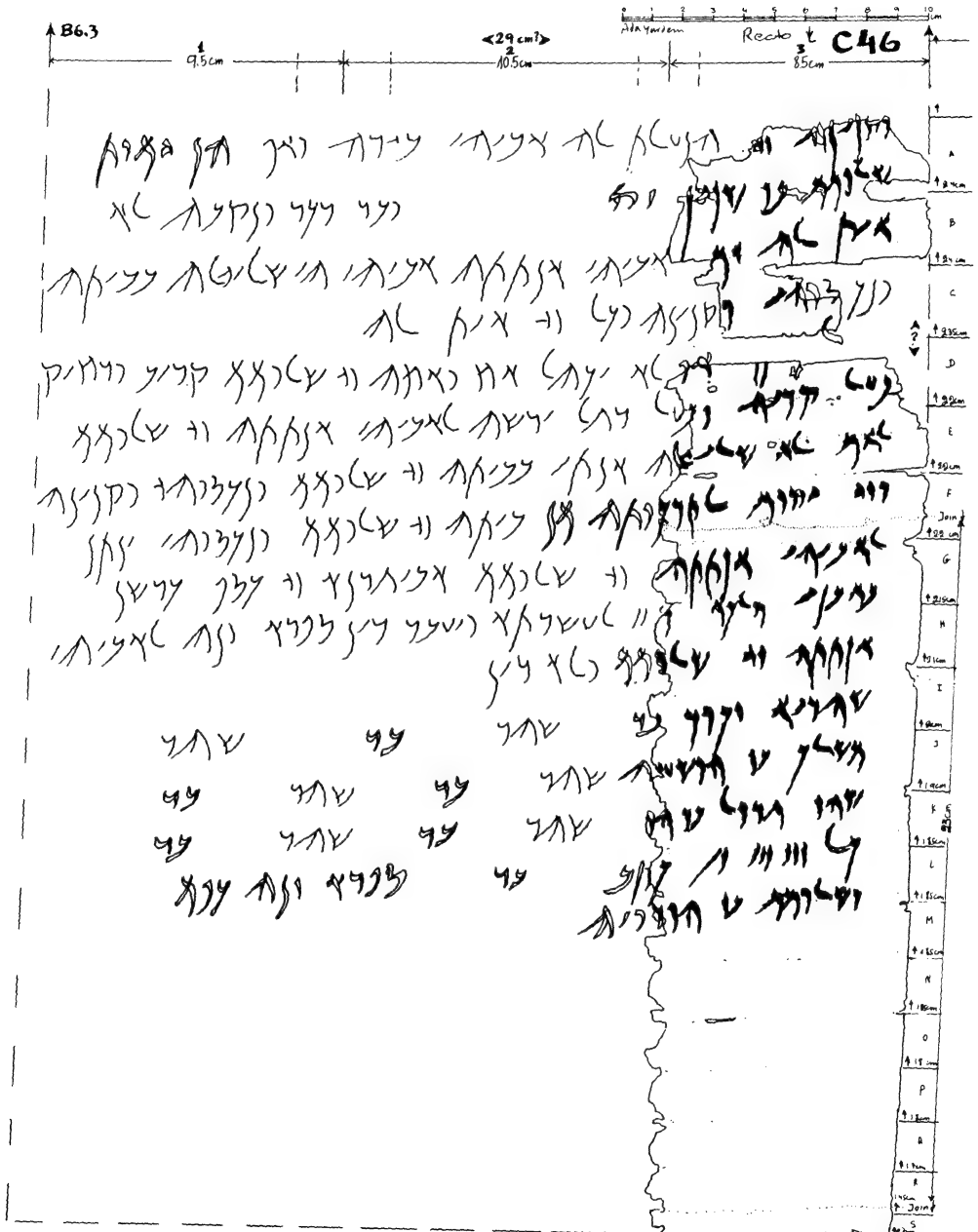
1. וקנינה ז'י] הנעלת לה אביהי בידה ואף הן ימות]
  2. שלומם בר שנין] ז' ובר דכר ונקבה לא]
  3. אית לה עם א] ביהי אנתתה אביהי הי שליטה בביתה]
  4. [ונכ]טוהי וקנינה וכל זי אית לה
  5. [ ] ל]
- (line 6 ≈ line 5 ?)
6. [ ] נ'ך] אף] לא יכהל אח ואחה זי שלומם קריב ורחיק]
  7. בעל קריה וב] על דגל ירשה לאביהי אנתתה זי שלומם]
  8. לאם לא שליט]ה אנת' בביתה זי שלומם ונכסוהי וקנינה]
  9. וזי יקום לתרכ] ותה מן ביתה זי שלומם ונכסוהי ינתן]
  10. לאביהי אנתתה] זי שלומם אביגרנא זי כסף כרשן [
  11. באבני מלכא ר'] // לעשרתא ויעבד דין ספרא זנה לאביהי]
  12. אנתתה זי שלו]מם ולא דין]
  13. שהדיא זכור ב]ר שהד בר שהד [
  14. משלך בר הושעי]ה שהד בר שהד בר [
  15. שהד גדול בר הו]ד'ה שהד בר שהד בר [
  16. כל זוז וזוז וזוז כת]ב בר ספרא זנה כפם [
  17. ושלומם בר הוד]ויה]

## End of Document of Wifehood

**RECTO**

(BEGINNING MISSING)

- Death of Wife ... <sup>1</sup>and her property which [*Abibi brought into him in her hand.*
- Death of Husband *And moreover, if* <sup>2</sup>Shelomam <sup>1</sup>[die] <sup>2</sup>at the age of [100] years [..., *not*] <sup>3</sup>having <sup>2</sup>[*a child, male or female*], <sup>3</sup>with A[*bibi his wife, it is Abibi (who) has right to his house* <sup>4</sup>and] [go]ods and [*his property and all that he has* ...
- (TEXT MISSING)
- Waiver of Suit <sup>6</sup>... Moreover, [*brother or sister of Shelomam, near or far*], <sup>7</sup>member of a town or me[mber of a detachment <sup>6</sup>shall not be able <sup>7</sup>to bring (*suit*) against *Abibi the wife of Shelomam*], <sup>8</sup>saying:
- “[*You*] do not have right [*to the house of Shelomam and his goods and his property*].”
- Penalty <sup>9</sup>And whoever shall stand up to evict[ her from *the house of Shelomam and his goods shall give*] <sup>10</sup>Abihi the wife of [*Shelomam the penalty of silver, x karsh*] <sup>11</sup>by the stone(-weight)s of the king, [2] q(arters) [*to the ten, and he shall do the law of this document to Abibi*] <sup>12</sup>the wife of Shelo[mam, *without suit*].
- Witnesses <sup>13</sup>The witnesses: Zaccur s[on of PN; *witness* PN son of PN; *witness*] <sup>14</sup>Meshullach son of Hoshai[h; *witness* PN son of PN; *witness* PN son of PN]; <sup>15</sup>witness Gaddul son of Ho[daviah/shaiah; *witness* PN son of PN; *witness* PN son of PN]; <sup>16</sup>all (told) 8.
- Scribe [PN son of PN] wro[te this document at the instruction of PN] <sup>17</sup>and Shelomam son of Hoda[viah].



This fragmentary text was drawn up at the instruction of two parties. Four other documents were so drawn up — a house conveyance (K 12:32-33), a division of inherited slaves between two brothers (C 28:14-15), and two documents of wifehood (C 18:8-9 [see below]; K 7:42-43). Cowley and Yaron<sup>13</sup> saw our document as a deed of conveyance. We prefer to see it as a document of wifehood. While certain terms would be common to both documents, e.g. *šlyt* (C 15:18 and K 2:11-12 [documents of wifehood]; K 3:11, 6:9, 9:11, 10:8, 12:23; C 8:9 [conveyances]), others are found mainly in documents of wifehood. We note the term *qnyn*, “property” and the suffixed form *qnynh*, “his/her property” (C 15:19, 22, 30, 35; K 7:27, 30-31, 35), found only once elsewhere in a document of withdrawal (C 14:4); and the expression *wšy yqwm ltrk[wt]*, “and whoever shall rise up to evict”. In the one conveyance document where such an expression occurs, it is addressed directly to the recipient: *šy yqwm lyky ltrkky*, “whoever shall stand up against you to evict you” (K 6:16). Only in documents of wifehood are the direct and indirect objects in the third person (C 15:30; K 7:30), as implied here by the twice repeated expression *ntth*, “his wife” (lines 10, 12 = Cowley 9, 11). To be sure, our interpretation is not without certain problems, and these will be mentioned below.

#### I. *Death of wife* (1):

The missing lines would read something like “[*And if Abihi die at the age of 100 years, not having a child, male or female, with Sheloman her husband, Shelomam HAS RIGHT to the money, goods*] and property” (*wqnynh*) (cf. K 2:12-13, 7:34-36). The conjectural restoration in line 1 *šy [hn'lt lh byhy bydh]*, “which [*Abihi brought into him in her hand*]” is adopted from the dowry and divorce clauses (C 15:6-7, 24, 27; K 2:4, 8, 10, 16, 7:5, 22).<sup>14</sup>

#### II. *Death of husband* (1-4):

The enigmatic PN *šnyt* should be read *šnyn*, “years” and the clause restored [*w'p hn ymwt*] *šlwm br šnyn [100]*, “[*And moreover, if*] Shelomam [*die*] at the age of [*100*] years” on the model of K 4:18, 6:18. I do not know how to fill in the gap in line 2. The following expression (lines 2-3) assumes a variant preposition. Normally in our

<sup>13</sup> R. Yaron, “The Schema of the Aramaic Legal Documents”, *JSS* 2 (1957), 44.

<sup>14</sup> This restoration was adopted in response to criticism by Prof. S.A. Kaufman, Hebrew Union College, of an earlier restoration.

documents we find the preposition *mn*, “from” in the expression “a child which one has *from* a spouse” (C 9:7, 9-10, 12, 15:18, 21, 20:3; K 7:29, 35). In our restoration the preposition *’m* would function in a pregnant sense — [*wbr dkr wngbb l’*] *’yt lb ’m* [*byhy*], “[not] having [a child, male or female], with A[bihi]”, i.e. in the marriage with; cf. the use of *’m* in the expression “your document of wifehood with Anani” (K 10:8).<sup>15</sup> The rest of the clause in lines 3-4 is restored on the model of C 15:18-19: [*’byhy by šlyth bbyth wnk*] *swby w[ qnyh wkl zy ’yt lb*], “[*It is Abihi (who) has right to his house and*] his go[ods] and [*his property and all that he has*]”.

### III. *Waiver of suit* (6-8):

This clause is unique in documents of wifehood which usually go directly to the penalty clause (the one below). Our restoration assumes a challenge by siblings of the deceased expressed in direct discourse (*l’m*, usually *lm* = *l’mr*, “saying” [cf. C 10:11-13])<sup>16</sup> and is otherwise modelled on C 5:8-9, 13:10. Cowley read only the letter *aleph* and left the rest of this line, as well as the next two lines, blank (his lines 5-7 = our lines 6-8). The rest of line 8 corresponds to lines 3-4. The traditional pair *b’l dgl wb’l qryh*, “member of a detachment or member of a town” (C 5:9, 13:10) is here reversed.

### IV. *Penalty* (9-12):

Contra Cowley’s restoration in line 9 (his line 8) is the fact that penalty clauses in conveyances always address the alienee in the 2nd person. Only in documents of wifehood does the “eviction” clause use the 3rd person, as required by the preserved text here. Spacing requires the omission of *wqnynh* in line 9 (contrast lines 3-4, 8). The payment clause begins at the end of the line and not in line 10 (contra Cowley, his line 9). In line 11 (= Cowley 10) the letter next to the break is *resh* and not *kaph* (for *ksp*, “silver”, contra Cowley). For the omission of *ksp* between *b’bny mlk’* and *r 2*, cf. K 4:21-22. Spacing also requires the inclusion of *’bygrn*, “indemnity”, also restored by Cowley (line 10 = his line 9). This word is first attested in 427 (K 5:8, 14) and then appears regularly (K 6:17, 7:31, 8:7, 9:20, 10:10, 14, 11:6-7, 12:30, 43:6, 45:8; C 20:14, 25:15, 28:10). Yet the script of our document has been designated extreme cursive and

<sup>15</sup> I am grateful to my colleague Prof. J. Blau for discussion of this usage of *’m*.

<sup>16</sup> S.A. Kaufman, “An Assyro-Aramaic *egirtu ša šulmu*” in M. de Jong Ellis, ed., *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein* (Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 19; Hamden, CT, 1977), 121.

dated to the middle of the fifth century.<sup>17</sup> Now while this script preserves such early features as the absence of curve-up in long down-strokes and the diagonal (rather than horizontal) position of the left stroke of the *be*, it exhibits other features which are late (e.g. the high position of the medial bar of the *shin*, the extended left stroke of the *yod*, and the rounding of the head of the *waw*). It should be noted that the Arsames letters, usually dated to the last quarter of the century, likewise exhibit archaic features. It is thus not impossible that this unknown scribe began writing in the middle of the fifth century and that our document was drawn up ca. 430 B.C.E. (so Ada Yardeni).

V. *Witnesses* (13-16):

Only in the early documents do the names of the witnesses precede the scribal signature but there the witnesses' names are written each on a separate line (C 1:8-11, 11:11-15) and there is no sum total as here. The names of three of the eight witnesses are preserved. Meshullach b. Hoshaiiah does not occur elsewhere but Gaddul b. Osea, witness in 446 (C 13:14), may be the same person as our Gaddul b. Ho[...].

VI. *Scribe* (16-17):

As stated, the scribe is unidentifiable and so is the first party drawing up the contract. The difficulty in taking him as the proprietor of the bride lies in the fact that unlike C 18 and K 7 he does not utter a promise of non-reclamation of the dowry at the end of the contract. Moreover, in both those documents, the groom appears first not second, as here. We have to assume that the statement of non-recovery, formulated in the 3rd person like the succession clauses, preceded the latter. In the two early documents where the witnesses precede the scribe, the latter signs his name on a separate line. Here his name does not begin a new line.

<sup>17</sup> J. Naveh, "The Development of the Aramaic Script", *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, V/1 (1970), p. 34.



## B6.4 Cowley 18 (Sachau Plate 33) and Nos. 71 + 79 of 96 Frags.

(Cowley 18:1-5 = lines 6-10)

Last Third of 5<sup>th</sup> Century B.C.E.

## RECTO

1. ] אף לא יכהל הושעיה ילקח א[נְתָהּ [אחרה]
2. ]בר מן סלואה אנתתה לה לאנתו הן יעבד כות שנאה הי יעבד לה [דין שנאה
3. ]ואף לא יכהל הושעיה ולא יעבד דין חדה ותר[ת]ן מן [נשי כנותה לסלואה
4. ]אנתתה הן לא יעבד דין חדה ותרתי מן נשי[ כנותה שנאה הי] ו[א]ף לא
5. ]תכהל סלואה ולא תעבד דין[ חר ותרין להושעיה והן לא תעבד דין חד]
6. 6. וְתַרְיִין שְנֵאָה [הִי] תַעֲבֹד לָהּ דִין שְנֵאָה וְלֹא ת[כ]הִל יְהוּחַן בֵּרֶת [ ] וְתַאֲמַר לָהּ [א]לָהּ וְנָהּ
7. 7. וְלִסְלֹוא בֵּרֶתָהּ כִּזִּי נִכְסִיָא וְכִסְפָא זִי כְתִיבִן בִּסְפֵּרָא בִּרְחֻמֵּן יִהְיֶה לָכֶם כְּעֵן צְבִית
8. 8. אֶהְנֵצֶל הֵם הֵן תֹּאמַר כֹּת חִיבָהּ הִי לֹא יִשְׁתַּמַּע לָהּ כְּתַב מַעֲוִיָּה בִּרְ נָתַן בִּר עֲנִיָּה
9. 9. סְפֵּרָא וְנָהּ כִּפְסֵם הוֹשַׁעִיָּה וְיִהוּחַן וְשִׁהֲדִיָּא בְּגוֹ שִׁהֲדָה חֲרַמְנָתָן בִּר בִּיתְאֻלְנָתָן בִּר צַחָא
10. 10. שִׁהֲדָה חֲגִי בִּר פְּנוּלִיָּה שִׁהֲדָה יֹאשֻׁבִּי בִּר [א]זְנִיָּה שִׁהֲדָה דִּיתְאֻלְנָתָן בִּר יִהוּנָתָן

Lines 1-5 not in Cowley

6. וְתַרְיִין שְנֵאָה [הִי] תַעֲבֹד לָהּ: C line 1 ... 7. ב. .... מְשַׁלֵּךְ בִּר [א]רִי; בֵּרֶת [ ] וְתַאֲמַר לָהּ: C [מְשַׁלֵּךְ תֹּאמַר לָהּ] 8. כֹּת (Kraeling): C line 3

Grelot, *Documents*, 84ff; Muffs; *Studies*, 42f, 133, 185; Naveh, "Aramaic Script", 23, 35; Porten, *Archives*, 109, 170, 174, 190ff, 222, 237, 242, 252, 257, 343; Porten, "Fragmentary Contracts", 255-56; Porten, "Fragmentary Documents"; Porten, "Jews in Egypt", 394-95; Porten, "Missing Endorsements", 528, 532; Porten, "Oath Contract", 569; Porten-Szubin, "Bequest", 188; Porten-Szubin, "Dowry", 235-36; Szubin-Porten, "Testamentary Succession", 35-36, 38; Verger, *Ricerche*, 106; Yaron, *Elephantine*, 16, 18, 21f, 26ff, 32, 43, 53-57, 64, 122, 160, 169.

## End of Document of Wifehood

**RECTO**

(BEGINNING MISSING)

Prohibition against  
Taking Another Wife

<sup>1</sup>[Moreover, Hoshaiah shall not be able to take another wo]man <sup>2</sup>[besides Salluah his wife for himself for wifehood. If he do thus, it is hatred. He shall do to her ]the law of hatred.

Right of "One or Two"

<sup>3</sup>[And moreover, Hoshaiah shall not be able not to do (i.e. to refuse)] to Salluah <sup>4</sup>[his wife <sup>3</sup>the law of one or t]w[o of] his colleagues' wives. <sup>4</sup>[If he not do the law of one or two of] his colleagues' [wives], it is hatred. [And more]over, <sup>5</sup>[Salluah shall] <sup>4</sup>not <sup>5</sup>[be able not to do (i.e. to refuse) to Hoshaiah the la]w [of one or two (of her colleagues' husbands). And if she not do the law of one] <sup>6</sup>or t[w]o (of her colleagues' husbands), i[t is] hat[red]. She shall do to him the law of hatred.

Waiver of Reclamation

And Jehoḥen daughter of [PN] shall not be a[b]le to [say to him] <sup>7</sup>and to Sallua her daughter that:

"[T]hese goods and the silver which are written in <sup>this</sup> document I gave you in affection. Now, I desired (them); <sup>8</sup>I shall reclaim them" (OR: "I desired to reclaim them").

If she says thus, she is obligated; she shall not be heard.

Scribe

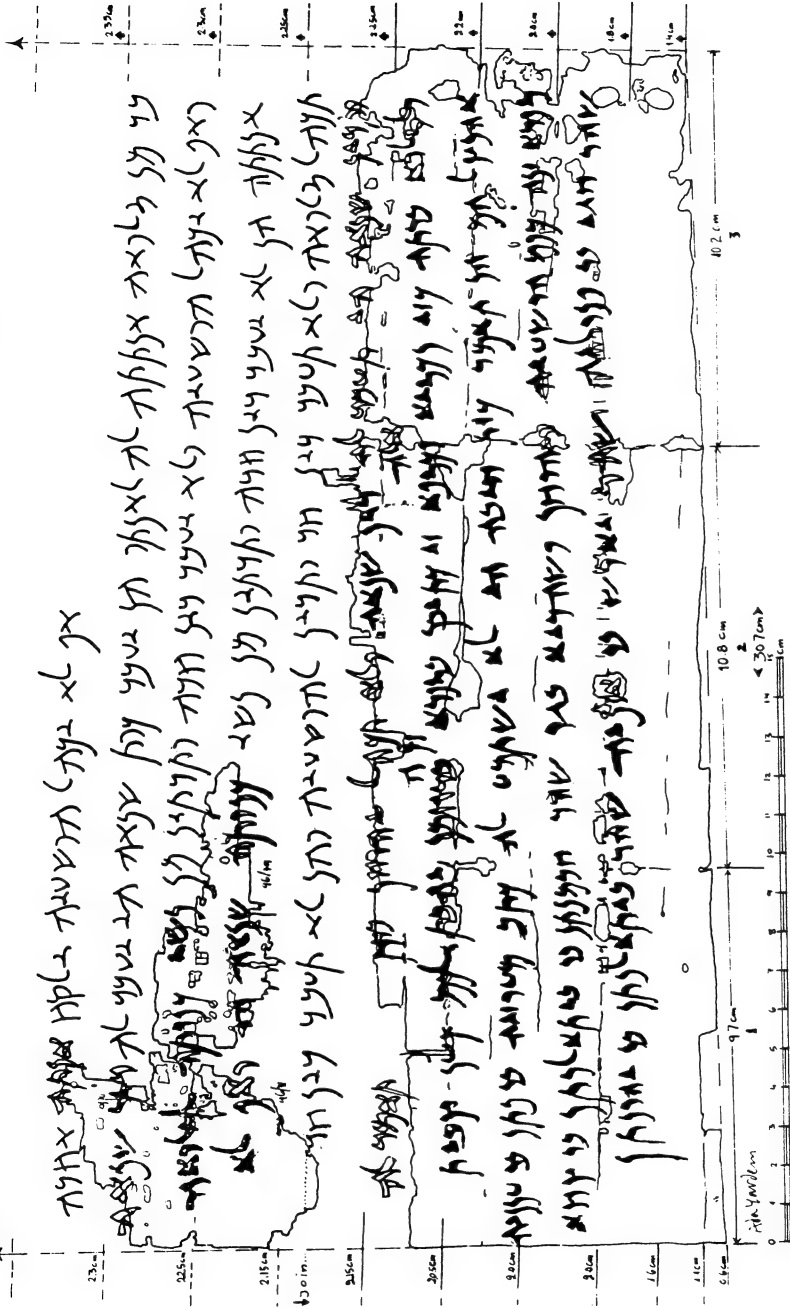
Mauziah son of Nathan son of Ananiah wrote <sup>9</sup>this document at the instruction of Hoshaiah and Jehoḥen.

Witnesses

And the witnesses herein: witness Heremnathan son of Bethelnathan son of Şeḥa; <sup>10</sup>witness Haggai son of Penuliah; witness Jaush son of [A]zaniah; witness Bethelnathan son of Jehonathan.

C18+ 96/71, 79 Recto

B6.4



On the basis of handwriting (cf. the *aleph*, *he*, and the curved *nun*), the name Salluah, and fiber match, two unpublished fragments in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Nos. 71 and 79) were placed together and, on the basis of comparison with the end of K 7 (also written by Mauziah), joined to C 18. We should note that in the fragment in line 3 the bride's name is written out *slw'h* and in the main text in line 7 it is written *slw'*. The scribe Mauziah b. Nathan was active from ca. 446 (K 14; see above) to ca. 410 B.C.E. (C 38, 41).

I. *Prohibition to take another wife* (1-2):

The preserved text at the upper left edge of Fragment 71 is [']*ntb* "[wo]man" and below that *dyn šn'h*, "law of hatred". As now restored, these two expressions appear one below the other in successive lines in another marriage contract by Mauziah (K 7:35-36). We restore here accordingly, adding to *slw'h* the word '*ntth*', "his wife", for reasons of space.

II. *Right of "one or two"* (3-6):

The restoration of these clauses follows closely upon those in K 7:37-40, being more expansive in one spot and more terse in another:

K 7    *w'p l' ykbl 'nyh wl' y'bd dyn [hdb] wtrtyn*  
 C 18   *[w'p l' ykbl hws'yb wl' y'bd dyn hdb wtr]t[yn]*  
 K 7    *mn nšy knwth lybwyšm' 'ntth*  
 C 18   *[mn] nšy knwth lslw'h    ['ntth]*  
 K 7    *whn l' y'bd* *kw*  
 C 18   *[hn l' y'bd dyn hdb wtrtyn mn nšy] knwth*  
 K 7    *šn'h [hy]. y'bd lh dyn šn'h.*  
 C 18   *šn'h hy.*  
 K 7    *w'p l' t'khl ybwyšm' wl' t'bd dyn h'd w[t]ryn*  
 C 18   *[w'p l' [t'khl slw'h wl' t'bd dy]n [h'd wtryn]*  
 K 7    *l'nyh b'lh. whn l' t'bd lh*  
 C 18   *[lhwš'yb. whn l' t'bd dyn h'd wt[ry]n*  
 K 7    *šn'hy.*  
 C 18   *šn[']h [y]. t'bd lh dyn šn'h*

The first five words in line 6 differ completely from Cowley (his line 1). Not only do we restore the first three words but we eliminate [*ms']lk br [w]ry*, "[Meshu]llach b. [U]ri" which becomes *t'bd lh*, "she shall do to him".

### III. *Non-reclamation of dowry* (6-8):

The patronymic of Jehoḥen is missing. Three women with this name appear in our documents — one is a creditor in 456 B.C.E. (daughter of Meshullach [C 10:2, 21, 23]) and two are contributors in 400 B.C.E. (daughter of Igdal and daughter of Gedaliah [C 22:92, 101]). Were our Jehoḥen identical with the first, the document would have been written at the upper limit of the scribe Mauziah's activity (ca. 446); if identical with either of the latter two, then toward the end of the century. In either case, she is presenting the dowry probably because her husband is dead. In K 7:40-41 the dowry was given to the bride; here it is depicted as given "[to him] and to Sallua", (lines 6-7), i.e. to groom and bride. The particle *ky* elsewhere introduces indirect speech referring to the contents of an oath (C 6:6-7, 8:24-25, 45:4). Cowley translated it "As ... now". But comparison with K 5:12-13 shows this conjunction there to mean "just as". It is absent from the parallel passage in K 7:41 where the proprietor uses direct speech. It is probably redundant here, the scribe having slipped from indirect to direct speech (with the use of *kn* "now"). A further difference is reversal of the formula *l' yštm' lh hyb hw* (K 7:42) to *hybh hy l' yštm' lh*, "She is obligated; she shall not be heard". Our documents distinguish between the root *hwb* "liable" for monetary payment (C 2:15; K 4:14, 5:14, 10:10, 13, 11:6, 12:29) and *hyb*, "obligated" for specific performance, in this case to stand by the gift of dowry and not reclaim it.

### IV. *Scribe* (8-9):

Like K 7 (lines 42-43), so this document was drawn up at the instance of groom and proprietor of the bride. There, both patronymics were spelled out; here only the praenomina are given. We do not know Jehoḥen's father but we can restore the name of the groom Hoshaiiah in lines 1, 3, and 5.

### V. *Witnesses* (9-10):

There does not seem to have been a fixed number of witnesses for documents of wifehood. K 2 had three, C 15 at least four (both written by Nathan b. Anani); our document had four while K 7 (also by Mauziah) had six and C 46 had 8. The patronymic [ ]*znyh* is restored [ ]*znyh* and not [y]*znyh* on the basis of the name Jaush b. Azaniah in C 12:8, a list which we have assigned to 420 B.C.E.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> B. Porten, "Seven Aramaic Lists of Names: A New Collation", in *La vie de la Parole. De l'Ancien au Nouveau Testament. Études d'exégèse et d'herméneutique bibliques offertes à Pierre GRELOT* (Paris, 1987), 33-34.

## SABAIC NOTES TO HEBREW GRAMMAR

BY

GARY A. RENDSBURG

Unquestionably the Semitic language least known to Hebraists is South Arabian. Depending on one's particular area of concentration, the typical Hebrew scholar has an expertise in Arabic, Aramaic, Akkadian, Ugaritic, and/or Ethiopic. For example, the Biblicist will know Akkadian and Ugaritic if he deals with ancient literatures and religions, or he will know Aramaic (including Syriac) and Ethiopic if he is a text-critic. The Talmudist by definition will be expert in Aramaic, and the medievalist cannot proceed far without a handle on Arabic. By contrast, in none of these fields is a knowledge of South Arabian a requirement. Accordingly, this language is the step-child of Hebrew studies.

The Hebraist is not totally to be blamed for this situation. A current worker in the field of South Arabian writes: "The lack of attention heretofore paid to these languages has been due largely to the difficulty of access to the texts, and to the absence of even the most basic critical tools, such as dictionaries and concordances, to aid in their study" (Biella 1982, p. vii). Happily, progress is now being made and these problems are being alleviated. Most importantly, three recent books have appeared, all at affordable prices. They are A.F.L. Beeston's *Sabaic Grammar* (1984) in the Journal of Semitic Studies Monograph Series; J.C. Biella's *Dictionary of Old South Arabic: Sabaean Dialect* (1982) in the Harvard Semitic Series; and the quadrilingual dictionary of A.F.L. Beeston, M.A. Ghul, W.W. Müller, and J. Ryckmans, entitled *Dictionnaire sabéen/Sabaic Dictionary/al-Mu'jam al-Saba'î* (1982), listing Sabaic words with their French, English, and Arabic equivalents. The appearance of these volumes has served as my main impetus in writing this article. In offering some notes on South Arabian grammar, specifically designed for the Hebraist, it is my hope that others in our field will be attracted to the study of this neglected Semitic language.

By way of introduction, let us first delineate the various South

Arabian tongues.<sup>1</sup> The term South Arabian covers various dialects, both ancient and modern. The former group is usually called Epigraphic South Arabian and is subdivided into 1) Sabaic, 2) Minaic, 3) Qatabanic, and 4) Hadramatic. Inscriptions in Epigraphic South Arabian range from the 6th century B.C.E. to the 6th century C.E., and have been found in Yemen and Aden. Unfortunately, none of these texts can be considered great literature, that is to say, we lack a South Arabian "Gilgamesh Epic" or "Baal Cycle". But what we lack in quality is at least compensated for in quantity. There are literally thousands of texts in these four dialects; many of them are extremely brief graffiti but there are also some important historical documents.<sup>2</sup> Of the four dialects, Sabaic is by far the best represented; accordingly its place in the title of the three aforementioned books and in the title of this article.

The Modern South Arabian languages are 1) Mehri, with the closely related dialects of Ḥarsūsi and Botahari, 2) Jibbālī (formerly called Šḥauri or Šḥeri), and 3) Soqoṭri. These tongues have been known to Western scholars since only the 19th century. They are still spoken today in Aden and Oman. The exact relationship between Modern South Arabian and Epigraphic South Arabian still has not been worked out, though clearly there are affinities between the two groups. The modern dialects are a remarkable subject of study all their own, but, again as the title suggests, we will concentrate our efforts on the Epigraphic South Arabian group. (Henceforth "South Arabian" refers only to the ancient language.)

The following notes are based largely on Beeston's recent grammar. Additional details may be found in the two dictionaries, where appropriate.<sup>3</sup> Let it also be noted that older grammars such as Beeston (1962) and Höfner (1943) and the glossary in Conti Rossini (1931) are still very valuable and should be consulted for further investigation.

### Assimilation of *nun*

One of the phonological features which demarcates Hebrew and the other North Semitic languages from South Semitic is the

<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed treatment and bibliographic survey, see Leslau (1970, pp. 507-527).

<sup>2</sup> For a sampling in English translation, see Jamme (1969).

<sup>3</sup> Of the two volumes, Beeston-Ghul-Müller-Ryckmans (1982) is the preferred one. As Jamme (1984) has pointed out, Biella (1982) cannot be used uncritically.

assimilation of vowelless *nun* to the following consonant (Moscatti 1964, p. 57). Thus we note Hebrew *\*yinten* > *yittēn* "he gives", Akkadian *\*indin* > *iddin* "he gave", etc. And yet contrary to the preservation of *nun* in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Modern South Arabian, generally Sabaic agrees with Hebrew and the other North Semitic languages. It is true that "assimilated and non-assimilated spellings both occur freely" (Beeston 1984, p. 11), but South Arabian still departs from the expected South Semitic norm.

Furthermore, before the consonants ' *b* *h* *g* *m* this assimilation does not occur. With the exception of the presence of *m* and the absence of *h* from this list, this accords with Hebrew especially. In the other North Semitic languages, various phonological rules apply when vowelless *n* precedes a laryngeal, pharyngeal, or velar fricative, but they all differ from Hebrew.

In Syriac, except before *h*, *n* assimilates (Brockelmann 1955, p. 19). In Ugaritic, one encounters forms such as *UT* 95:8 *tgrk* "may they guard you" (root *ngr*) (Gordon 1967, p. 445), *UT* 75:I:35 *yḥ* "he goes toward" (root *nḥw*) (Gordon 1967, p. 442), and *UT* 51:VII:54 *bḡlmt* "son of the young woman" (Gordon 1967, p. 373), all with *n* assimilated. Forms such as *UT* 68:11, 18 *ynḥt* "he brings down" are most likely D-stems with a vowel intervening between *n* and the following consonant (cf. Gordon 1967, p. 443). The only evidence which would suggest that *n* was not assimilated comes from personal names. Alphabetic *ynḥm* in *UT* 84:10 etc. is spelled syllabically as *ia-an-ḥa-am-mi* and *ia-an-ḥa-mu* (Gordon 1967, p. 443; Sivan 1984, p. 47; Gröndahl 1967, pp. 22, 165). Similarly, alphabetic *ynḥn* in *UT* 327: rev 5 (Gordon 1967, p. 443) appears syllabically as *ia-an-ḥa-nu* (Sivan 1984, p. 47; Gröndahl 1967, pp. 22, 165). Thus we may conclude that in contemporary Ugaritic vowelless *n* was assimilated before all consonants, including laryngeals, pharyngeals, and velar fricatives, but that personal names preserved an older form with *n* preserved.

In Akkadian one of two developments may arise. More common is progressive assimilation of *n* + ' [= etymological ' *b* *h* *g*] > *nn*, e.g., *innepiš* "it was done" < *\*in'epiš* (von Soden 1969, pp. 25, 34, 126). Less common is regressive assimilation of *n* + ' > ' , e.g., *i'ābit* "it was destroyed" < *\*in'ābit* (von Soden 1969, pp. 25, 34, 128, 150).

Only in Hebrew (and apparently in other Canaanite dialects) was *n* regularly preserved before laryngeals, pharyngeals, and velar fricatives,



e.g., *yinhāl*, *yin'aš*, *yinhag*, etc.<sup>4</sup> Thus only Hebrew and South Arabian share the feature of assimilating vowelless *n* before most consonants but not before ' *ḥ ḡ ḡ ḥ* (for Hebrew) *m* (for South Arabian).

### Prepositions with -y

As is well known, three Hebrew biliteral prepositions, 'l, 'd, and 'l, appear as well with suffixed -y. The attestations are limited to poetry: 'y "to" occurs only in Job (4 ×), 'dy "until" occurs in Numbers 24, Isaiah, Second Isaiah, Psalms, and Job (12 ×), and 'ly "upon" occurs in Genesis 49, Numbers 24, Deuteronomy 32, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Micah, Psalms, Proverbs, Job, and Lamentations (40 ×). But regardless of this distribution, it is still remarkable that Hebrew should have interchangeable forms, the standard shorter ones and the rarer ones with -y.<sup>5</sup>

The norm is for any Semitic language to have but one of these sets, to wit, Syriac 'al and 'ad, Arabic 'ilā(y) and 'alā(y).<sup>6</sup> Eblaite presents something unique with the prepositions *a-de* and *al*, the former corresponding to the Hebrew -y form and the latter to the standard Hebrew usage. Nevertheless, variation does not occur, these being the only forms attested (Pennacchietti 1981, p. 293). The Ugaritic evidence is, of course, ambiguous, since one cannot determine the vocalization of the prepositions 'd and 'l based merely on the orthography (see Gordon 1967, p. 99; Segert 1984, pp. 78-79).

Akkadian might be considered a parallel to the Hebrew phenomenon, although the data are reversed. In this language, *adi* and *eli* are the standard forms, with *ad* and *el* as poetic variants (von Soden 1969, pp. 165-166).<sup>7</sup>

The closest parallel to Hebrew usage, then, is Sabaic. One of the unique features of its prepositional system is the same variation as occurs in Hebrew. An entire range of prepositions has both base

<sup>4</sup> Phoenician agrees with Hebrew on this point, viz., *tnhl* "you will inherit" (*KAI* 3:4) vs. *yḡq* "he damages" (*KAI* 24:14). See Garr (1985, pp. 42-43) and Friedrich-Röllig (1970, pp. 22, 70).

<sup>5</sup> Of course the forms with suffixed -y are also the basis for the series with pronominal suffixes: 'ēlay, 'ēlēnū, etc. (Meyer 1969, p. 179). But I do not include these forms in the present discussion.

<sup>6</sup> Syriac also possesses the longer forms with -y, but only when the pronominal suffixes are added (Brockelmann 1955, p. 82). Again, I exclude these forms from the discussion. The orthography of the Arabic prepositions suggests that in origin they are more closely related to the Hebrew forms with -y.

<sup>7</sup> An additional variant is Old Akkadian *al* (von Soden, p. 166).

forms and forms with *-y*, including the exact correspondants of two of the aforementioned Hebrew prepositions, namely *'d/'dy* and *'l/'ly* (Beeston 1984, pp. 53-54, 56-57).<sup>8</sup>

A closer investigation of the distribution of the Hebrew forms with *-y* suggests that the use of these forms may have been a stylistic device. By far the largest accumulation of such forms is to be found in Job (21 ×). In addition four forms with *-y* occur in the mouth of Balaam (Numb 24:6 [2 ×], 24:20, 24:24) and one occurs in the Massa material collected at the end of Proverbs (30:19). In sum, 26 of the 56 attestations of *'ly*, *'ly*, *'dy* occur in what I would call Syro-Arabian contexts. Of the remaining 30 usages, we may be inclined to exclude six cases which occur in older poetry (Gen 49:17 [2 ×], 49:22 [2 ×], Deut 32:2 [2 ×]) and six cases of the fossilized expression *'dy 'dy* "forever" (Isa 26:4, 65:18, Ps 83:18, 92:8, 132:12, 132:14). Thus, our ratio may be one of 26 of 44 usages of *'ly*, *'ly*, *'dy* in Syro-Arabian contexts. I consider this a significant percentage. Recently S.A. Kaufman (1988, p. 55) has argued persuasively that the Balaam and Massa materials, as well as other selections of biblical literature, are "intentional stylistic representations of Trans-Jordanian speech on the part of Hebrew authors within Hebrew texts".<sup>9</sup> He labels this technique "style-switching". I wholeheartedly endorse this approach and would extend its application to Job as well. Accordingly, I conclude that the prepositions with *-y* were deliberately used by the author of Job to color his Hebrew in an Arabian manner.<sup>10</sup>

### The preposition *bn*

Most scholars have judged *bin* in Jonah 4:10 (2 ×) to be a slight variant of standard Hebrew *bēn* "son" (Kautzsch 1910, p. 285; Bauer-Leander 1922, p. 618; Koehler-Baumgartner 1951, I, pp. 133f.; Landes 1982, p. 153\*). They base this conclusion on other attestations of this form: the proper name *binyāmīn* (Gen 35:18 etc.), the patronymics *bin-nūn* (Exod 33:11 etc.) and *bin-yāqeb* (Prov 30:1), and the common

<sup>8</sup> Qatabanic, incidentally, tends to use forms in *-w*, e.g., *'dw*, *'lw* (Beeston 1984, p. 67).

<sup>9</sup> See also Greenfield (1981, pp. 129-130) for the same technique in the story of Jacob and Laban.

<sup>10</sup> Al Wolters of Redeemer College reached a similar conclusion in his paper "The 'tail' and 'thighs' of Behemoth (Job 40:17)" presented at the Society of Biblical Literature annual meeting in Chacago, November 1988. I thank Professor Wolters for permitting me to see the written form of this paper.

noun *bin* (Deut 25:2). But the expression *šebbin-laylāh bāyāh ūbin-laylāh ʾābād* “which arose in a night and wilted in a night” reads better if we understand *bin* not as “son” but as the preposition *b* “in” with suffixed *-n*.

Isolated parallels are to be found in Northwest Semitic texts, e.g., Phoenician *bn* “in” in *KAI* 43:13 and Ugaritic *ln* “to” in *UT* 137:25, 27, 29 (Gordon 1967, pp. 97, 428), as well as in Eblaite where *li-na* “to” occurs (Pennacchietti 1981, p. 301). Accordingly, there should be little objection to positing the uniconsonantal preposition expanded by suffixed *-n* in Hebrew.<sup>11</sup>

Apart from these examples, the best parallel to the preposition *bn* in Jonah 4:10 (2 ×) comes from South Arabian. Here one finds the common usage of suffixed *-n* attached to prepositions, e.g., *b/bn*, *l/ln*, *ʾbr/ʾbrn*, *ʾm/ʾmn*, etc. (Beeston 1984, pp. 53–58). It is true that the simple prepositions *b* and *l* mean “in” and “to” respectively, and that *bn* and *ln* mean “from” (Beeston 1984, pp. 53–56), but in most cases the addition of suffixed *-n* to prepositions appears not to affect the meaning of the word in the least.

In short, *bin* in Jonah 4:10 (2 ×) should be parsed as the preposition “in”, and the Hebraist may look to South Arabian for a standard cognate.<sup>12</sup>

#### Prepositions in *-mw*

Still another characteristic of Hebrew prepositions is the ability for three uniconsonantals, *b*, *l*, and *k* to be expanded by the addition of enclitic *-mw* (Kautzsch 1910, p. 303; Brown-Driver-Briggs 1906, pp. 91, 455, 518). There are numerous parallels to the Hebrew form *kāmō* “like, as”,<sup>13</sup> namely Phoenician *km* (Harris 1936, p. 109; Friedrich-Röllig 1970, p. 127), Ugaritic *km* (Gordon 1967, p. 420), Akkadian *kima* (von Soden 1969, p. 165), Ethiopic *kama* (Dillmann

<sup>11</sup> The standard approach is to explain Phoenician *bn* as dissimilated from *mn* (Harris 1936, p. 120; Friedrich-Röllig 1970, pp. 21, 126). But this fails to take into account Jonah 4:10 and the South Arabian evidence introduced in the next paragraph: Gordon (1952, p. 121) has already shown the weakness of the explanation found in the grammars of Phoenician. Moreover, he has also compared Arabic-Aramaic-Canaanite *mn* “from” with Egyptian *m* “from” as another illustration of this phenomenon (Gordon 1967, p. 110).

<sup>12</sup> Segert (1969, pp. 475–76) does not discuss the Hebrew form at all, but he does treat the prepositions with suffixed *-n* in a general Semitic framework.

<sup>13</sup> Hebrew *kāmō* is also utilized when most of the pronominal suffixes are added, e.g., *kāmōnī*.

1907, p. 396), Eblaite *ka-ma* (Pennacchietti 1981, p. 301), Syriac *kmā* (Brockelmann 1955, p. 175\*), Arabic *kamā* (Wright 1896-98, II, pp. 177-178), etc.

On the other hand, cognates for Hebrew *bāmō* “in” and *lāmō* “to” are very rare. The exact parallel to the former is common in South Arabian, where both *bm* and *bmw* occur as variants of *b* (Beeston 1984, pp. 47-48; Biella 1982, p. 33). This connection between Hebrew and South Arabian was pointed out more than a century ago by D.H. Müller (1883, p. 344, n. 2) and is noted by Brown-Driver-Briggs (1906, p. 91). An exact parallel to Hebrew *lāmō* may occur in Ugaritic, viz., *lm* in Krt 102 (Gordon 1967, p. 97, n. 1). Notwithstanding, we may speak generally of South Arabian as being germane here due to the common use of the enclitic *m/mw* in these dialects.

Again we may note that these forms appear only in Hebrew poetry, especially in Job. Four of the ten attestations of *bāmō* and all four instances of *lāmō* occur in this book. Thus, we may ask again whether the author of Job did not intentionally employ these forms to add an Arabian flavor to the diction of his characters.

### The negative particle *biltī*

The negative particle *biltī* “without” is another Hebrew form with few cognates. The form *blt* occurs in both Phoenician and Ugaritic (Friedrich-Röllig 1970, p. 125; Gordon 1967, p. 373). Further afield but nonetheless related is South Arabian *blty* (Beeston 1984, p. 57).<sup>14</sup>

Of special interest is the syntax of these cognates. One of the commonest usages of Hebrew *biltī*, albeit with prefixed *lā*, is the negation of the infinitive construct (Kautzsch 1910, p. 352; Joüon 1923, p. 493). In Phoenician and Ugaritic this usage is not attested (for discussion see Aartun 1974, pp. 26-27, 66). In South Arabian, however, we do occasionally encounter a parallel to the Hebrew usage. The following passage is illustrative: *blty kwn bmrnm kl b'ltm* “without there being in the sanctuary any high-priestess” (Beeston 1952, p. 147). In this instance, South Arabian *blty* negates the following infinitive *kwn* “to be”, thus standing as a close parallel to the common Hebrew usage, e.g., *lābiltī 'ākol* “not to eat” (Gen

<sup>14</sup> Although vowel letters are not common in South Arabian orthography, they do occur occasionally (Beeston 1984, p. 7). In the present instance, we will assume such for the final letter in *blty*.

3:11).<sup>15</sup> Beeston (1984, p. 57) is correct that syntactically South Arabian *blty* and Hebrew *biltî* are for the most part dissimilar, the former being mainly prepositional and the latter mainly conjunctive. But if we expand the discussion to include *ləbiltî* followed by infinitive construct (and note that the *lə* is essentially the prefix of the infinitive construct, not of *biltî*), we can posit a similar syntactic environment between the Hebrew and South Arabian cognates.<sup>16</sup>

### Explicative *w*

The particle *w* has many significations in Hebrew, among them what scholars have termed *waw explicativum*. In such cases the *w* is not to be translated by “and” or some other conjunction, rather it has a copulative force with the meaning “that is, namely”. This usage is attested also in Ugaritic, Aramaic, and Akkadian (Baker 1980, pp. 129-130).

D.W. Baker (1980, p. 134) has remarked that “no examples have been found in South Semitic”. However, Beeston (1984, p. 49) states that it is attested in Qatabanic and perhaps in Sabaic. An undisputed example from the former is *ldtn 'bytn wl'hṭbs¹m wms³wds¹m wsrḥts¹m* “for these houses, namely for their ground-storey rooms and their guest hall and their upper rooms”. An example from the latter, which admittedly is subject to varying interpretation is *'nmrm . . . wrb¹t . . . w'fsy . . . wgs²m* “some chieftains, consisting of Rābīʿat and Afṣay and Guṣam” (for references see Beeston 1984, p. 49).

### Broken plurals

Scholars continue to debate the origin of the plural of Hebrew segholates. In my estimation, they are to be analyzed as internal or broken plurals, to which the standard masculine plural ending *-îm* has been added, with the result being a plural of a plural or a double plural (Margolis 1904).

Since the debate still lingers, here I would simply like to call

<sup>15</sup> I am grateful to Fr. Albert Jamme of Catholic University for discussing the South Arabian usage with me (personal letter, 7 June 1986). Although he would prefer treating *ḫwn* as a perfect here — in which case there would be no parallel to the Hebrew usage — he did confirm for me that Beeston considers the form to be an infinitive.

<sup>16</sup> This comparison is not to suggest that the infinitives are exactly alike. The South Arabian form would be an infinitive absolute (akin to the Arabic *maṣdar* form), whereas the Hebrew morpheme is an infinitive construct.

attention to the South Arabian evidence. In Beeston's (1984, p. 26) words: "The use of broken plurals is more pervasive in Sayhadic [= South Arabian] than in any other Semitic language". This being the case, anyone investigating the problem in Hebrew should have his eye not only on Arabic and Ethiopic, but on South Arabian as well.<sup>17</sup>

### Dual verbs and pronouns

In a recent article I presented the evidence for dual verbs (perfect and imperfect) and dual personal pronouns (independent and suffixed) in Hebrew (Rendsburg 1982b, pp. 38-58). I noted that the cognate evidence stems from Arabic, Ugaritic, Akkadian, and Egyptian. An important lacuna from this list is South Arabian, for this language also widely employs dual forms (Beeston 1984, pp. 14-15, 39, 63-65, 69).<sup>18</sup>

For the verb, South Arabian actually is nearer to Arabic and Egyptian than it is to Hebrew and Akkadian. For the former distinguish gender in the dual verb, whereas Hebrew and Akkadian do not.<sup>19</sup> For the pronoun, as is expected, South Arabian has forms of common gender. The attested forms, all 3rd person pronominal suffixes, are Sabaic *-hmy*, Minaic and Hadramatic *-s'mn*, and Qatabanic *-s'my*. All other dual pronouns are wanting.

### Imperfect in *-n*

An oddity of the Hebrew verbal inflection is the occasional addition of *-n* to the 2nd person masculine plural, 3rd person masculine plural, and 2nd person feminine singular imperfect. Some scholars have suggested that the imperfect with *-n* marks an emphasis otherwise lacking in the regular imperfect (Kautzsch 1910, p. 128; Driver 1890, p. 23; Hoftijzer 1985). This would agree with the general trend in Semitic toward some semantic or modal distinction between the regular imperfect and the imperfect with *-n* (see Moscati 1964, pp. 135-136; Garr 1985, pp. 126-127). And yet one can hardly

<sup>17</sup> Internal or broken plurals are also extremely common in Modern South Arabian (Johnstone 1975, p. 21).

<sup>18</sup> I should also have included Modern South Arabian where dual verbs and dual pronouns occur (Johnstone 1975, pp. 15-17, 25-26).

<sup>19</sup> For details see Rendsburg (1982b, pp. 48-52). The Ugaritic evidence is ambiguous, since both *yqtl'n* and *qtln* seem to be used for both genders.

accede to the notion that the addition of *-n* alters the regular imperfect in any meaningful or significant way. Instead it is better to conclude with grammarians such as E.Y. Kutscher (1982, p. 40), R. Meyer (1969, p. 100), and R.J. Williams (1972, pp. 82-85) who view this ending as purely optional.<sup>20</sup>

Those who accept the first of the above views may have been reticent to admit to the second due to the lack of an appropriate parallel within Semitic. Both Phoenician and Ugaritic most likely parallel the Hebrew usage in this regard, but there are still those who suggest differences between the regular imperfect and the imperfect with *-n* in these two languages.<sup>21</sup> It is, therefore, appropriate to present the South Arabian evidence by quoting Beeston (1984, p. 21) in full:

An extremely difficult problem is the usage of the simple versus the *-N* imperfect. A rather general impression is that the simple imperfect occurs in main sentences and the *-N* imperfect in jussives and subordinate clauses of all kinds, including relative clauses. But there are so many cases controverting such a principle that it is probably unwise to adopt that hypothesis. One may have to admit that the use of the *-N* imperfect is purely optional: notice the contrast between the two forms [wyhmrhmw . . . wynt'nhmw "and may He grant them . . . and may He deliver them"], where the syntactic status of the two verbs is absolutely the same.

In short, in both Hebrew and South Arabian the imperfect with *-n* is merely optional.

<sup>20</sup> In his treatment, Williams merges the two forms which other scholars tend to distinguish, the paragogic *nun* and the energetic *nun*. I am inclined to agree with him in considering these two *nun*'s as ultimately of the same origin. A single morpheme may appear in more than one guise during the historical development of a language. Another example in Hebrew is the volitive ending *-āh*, suffixed to most cohortatives and some imperatives (Rainey 1986, p. 8). An English example is the genitive singular ending *-s*. This morpheme lives on not only in the possessive form, e.g., "mother's", "father's", etc., but also in such words as "Sundays", "Mondays", etc. In sentences such as "Sundays I play football" and "Mondays I go to the library", the *-s* ending is not the nominative plural but a survival of the genitive singular.

<sup>21</sup> For Phoenician, Friedrich-Röllig (1970, p. 62) and Garr (1985, p. 126) see no distinction, but Harris (1936, pp. 40-41) and Williams (1972, p. 81) claim that the regular imperfect is precativ and that the imperfect with *-n* is indicative, paralleling Aramaic usage. For Ugaritic, Gordon (1967, p. 73) concludes that the forms with *-n* are only stylistic variants of the forms without the suffix. Segert (1984, p. 62), on the other hand, writes that "the function of these forms [i.e., with *-n*] is mostly volitive", though he adds that "some probably do not differ in meaning from corresponding indicative forms".

Pentateuchal *hw*'

Recently I have investigated the use of consonantal *hw*' for the 3rd person singular independent pronoun in the Pentateuch, vocalized *hū*' for the masculine and *hī*' for the feminine (Rendsburg 1982a, pp. 351-369). The conclusion reached was that the form is not a scribal convention,<sup>22</sup> rather it should be viewed as a genuine epicene form. The earliest layer of Hebrew, that represented in the Pentateuch, did not distinguish gender for the 3rd person singular independent pronoun, apparently the result of Hittite and Hurrian influence. Only later, after said influence waned and after Israel became an international state under David and Solomon, did Hebrew join the rest of Semitic in distinguishing gender.

Although I noted a similar situation in Old Babylonian, where the 3rd person singular oblique pronouns, genitive/accusative *šūāti* and dative *šūāšim*, are also of common gender (Rendsburg 1982a, pp. 363-364; see von Soden 1969, p. 41), I suggested that the Hebrew phenomenon was otherwise unique. However, I overlooked the South Arabian evidence which once again exhibits something similar to Hebrew. The usual 3rd person singular pronominal suffixes are *-hw* for the masculine and *-h* for the feminine, but the use of the former for the feminine "is extremely prevalent in the middle period" (Beeston 1984, pp. 39-40). Although his recent grammar offers no explanation for this usage, Beeston's earlier treatment proposes three possible interpretations (1962, p. 44):

One could envisage alternatives: (a) that the examples are simply due to lax concord; (b) that in certain stages of the language the third person singular pronoun affix was a common-gender form; (c) that this form with feminine antecedent was vocalized differently from the same graphic form with masculine antecedent.

If the second of these alternatives is accepted, we would have the exact corollary to my explanation of the Hebrew crux. But regardless of how one interprets the South Arabian usage, one can no longer claim that the Hebrew usage is *sui generis*. Indeed, as A. Capuzzi (1968, pp. 455-459) has pointed out, there are even examples of the same phenomenon in Nabatean and Palmyrene Aramaic. Any further

<sup>22</sup> This is the standard explanation, for which see Kautzsch (1910, p. 107), Brown-Driver-Briggs (1906, pp. 214-215), Bauer-Leander (1922, p. 248), and many others.



attempts to elucidate this problem should bring all this evidence to bear on the subject.<sup>23</sup>

### Post-scriptum

While this article was in press, Prof. Muraoka discovered the following bibliographic information, which he kindly brought to my attention. The issue of *bin* in Jonah 4:10 was treated by H. Yalon in "La-Millon ha-'Ivri", *Melilah* 3-4 (1950) 111-112. His material appears in slightly revised form in H. Yalon, *Pirge Lasbon* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1971) 156. For related matter from rabbinic literature, Yalon cited S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1942) 175-176.

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*UT* = Gordon 1967.

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<sup>23</sup> The author wishes to express his gratitude to Professor T. Muraoka for his insightful comments on an earlier draft of this article.

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## THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT AS REFLECTED IN THE WRITING OF NAJĪB MAḤFŪZ\*

BY

REUVEN SNIR

### INTRODUCTION

Najīb Maḥfūz (b. 1911), the greatest of contemporary Arab writers, is known as an author with a highly developed social and political consciousness who concerns himself with the problems of the Arab individual and nation, and especially with the problems of his Egyptian homeland. His political awareness was already awakened, according to his testimony, when he was a small boy.<sup>1</sup> In fact, he himself emphasizes: "Politics can be found in all my writings. You can find a story without love or anything else, but you cannot find a story without the political dimension, for politics is the axis around which our thought revolves".<sup>2</sup> And indeed most of the works of Maḥfūz,<sup>3</sup> and especially since the Arab defeat in the 1967 war,<sup>4</sup> are steeped in political awareness, and either directly or indirectly raise political or social-political issues. Yet simultaneously the author has consistently avoided becoming a partner or member of any political framework. He has thus made a point of limiting his political involvement to the literary arena,<sup>5</sup> though when interviewed on

\* My thanks go to Prof. S. Moreh and Dr J. Mattock for their careful reading of this paper and their helpful suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> Jamāl al-Ghītānī (ed.), *Najīb Maḥfūz* Yatadhakkaru, Beirut, 1980, p. 73. Cf. Sasson Somekh, *The Changing Rhythm*, Leiden, 1973, pp. 39-40; Ghālī Shukrī, *al-Muntamī*, 3th ed., Beirut, 1982, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Ghītānī, *op. cit.*, p. 78. Cf. Aḥmad Muḥammad 'Aṭīyya, *Ma'a Najīb Maḥfūz*, Beirut, 1977, pp. 193-4; Ma'mūn Gharīb, *Ma'a Mashāḥir al-Fikr wa-l-Adab*, Dār al-Ma'ārif, Cairo, 1984, p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Somekh, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 110-112, 159, 192-5; Mattityahu Peled, *Religion, My Own*, New Brunswick & London, 1983, p. 41; 'Aṭīyya, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-184; Ibrāhīm 'Āmir, "Najīb Maḥfūz Siyāsiyyan min Thawrat 1919 ilā Yūnyū 1967", *al-Hilāl*, February, 1970, pp. 26, 28.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hamdī Sakkout, "Najīb Maḥfūz Short Stories" in R.C. Ostle (ed.), *Studies in Modern Arabic Literature*, London, 1975, p. 122; R.K. Myers, "The Problem of Authority: Franz Kafka and Najīb Maḥfūz", *Journal of Arabic Literature*, XVII (1986), p. 93; Somekh, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

<sup>5</sup> 'Aṭīyya, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

political questions by journalists he has not hesitated in expressing his opinion.

#### A. AN OUTSPOKEN PROPONENT OF PEACE

Unlike the majority of writers and intellectuals in his country, Maḥfūz has for many years taken a special stand on the issue of the Arab-Israeli conflict. This stance, which calls to put an end to the series of wars between the Arabs and Israel, does not see Israel's existence in the heart of the Arab world as the central problem of the Arabs. Since the early 1970's Maḥfūz, together with his friend the dramatist Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm (1898-1987), has preached for the development of Egyptian civilization and of the Arab world in general, and for treatment of the true problems of the Arab people. If the Arabs do not take wise and effective advantage of the massive income from oil export, this view claims, there is a danger that they will return to being herders of camels and penniless Bedouins.<sup>6</sup>

In the third introduction to his book *al-Muntamī*,<sup>7</sup> Ghālī Shukrī reveals an extremely interesting piece of information: in the month of April 1972 a symposium was held in Cairo under the auspices of the newspaper *al-Abrām* whose central topics were Islam and Palestine. Participants included the Libyan ruler Mu'ammār Qadh-dhāfī and a number of outstanding Egyptian writers and intellectuals — among them Najīb Maḥfūz, Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm and Dr. Ḥusayn Fawzī (b. 1900). *Al-Abrām* published only what was said with regard to the first issue — Islam<sup>8</sup> — while the portion dealing with Palestine went unreported. According to Shukrī the reason for this was the stance taken in the symposium by Maḥfūz, al-Ḥakīm and Fawzī: they emphasized that the only solution to the Palestinian problem is peace with Israel — and this was even prior to the 1973 war! It should be remembered that the expression of such a position in the early 1970's, before Egypt regained some of its lost pride in

<sup>6</sup> S. Moreh, "The Israeli in Arabic Literature since 1948" (in Hebrew), in *The Arab-Israeli Conflict as Reflected by the Arab Literature*, Jerusalem, 1975, p. 51.

<sup>7</sup> Ghālī Shukrī, *op. cit.*, pp. ḥ-ṭ (introduction). See also Amos Elon, *Flight into Egypt* (in Hebrew), Tel Aviv: Schocken, p. 71.

<sup>8</sup> *Al-Abrām*, 7 April 1972, pp. 4-7. It seems that Maḥfūz's words even in this part of the symposium were censored, since only 10 lines (out of more than 4 wide newspaper pages!) from what was published were of Maḥfūz.

the Yom Kippur War, required tremendous courage. Shukrī, who is not at all pleased with Maḥfūz's position on the Arab-Israeli conflict, which he sees as a serious deviance, regrets the decision not to publish Maḥfūz's opinions as he expressed them at that symposium: "If this part of the symposium had been published it would have been possible to attack the opinions of Maḥfūz and his two colleagues, and it would have been possible to avoid the shock, which stunned many Egyptians five years later, when Maḥfūz and others expressed their support of the visit (of the late president Anwar al-Sādāt — R.S.) in the conquered Jerusalem and of the Camp David agreements and the peace accords".<sup>9</sup>

Apparently it was Maḥfūz's openly stated positions on the Arab-Israeli conflict which led Ghālī Shukrī, who had praised and glorified the works of Maḥfūz prior to 1967, to go so far as to write in the third edition of his book that after the defeat of the Arabs in the Six Day War came the great decline in the quality of Maḥfūz's literary work, and that there was nothing new in his later work, which he would have been better off not having written: "The work of Maḥfūz ... will never again ... see a new vision, despite the great volume of writing year after year ... he can only repeat in a better way things he has already said, or say things he would be better off keeping to himself".<sup>10</sup> Shukrī, who indeed does not deny, even in the early 1980's, the sublime quality of Maḥfūz's early work, and describes the author as "layer of the foundations of the modern Arabic novel, who built it into a glorious palace", sees his later work as cut off from his early "giant work". It seems that Shukrī, and other literary critics who began to find fault with the writings of Maḥfūz, and even to reject him outright, following the author's opinions concerning the Arab-Israeli conflict, fell into the trap about which they were warned by the Iraqi poetess and critic, Nāzik al-Malā'ika. Over 25 years ago she skillfully pointed out the failings of literary criticism in the Arab world: "The task of the literary critic is difficult, for when he analyzes a particular poem, he must free himself from the tyranny of his personal opinions ... Many of those writing in the field of criticism fall into this trap: the poem is bad, in their opinion, if it expresses an opinion which conflicts with their

<sup>9</sup> Shukrī, *op. cit.*, p. ٤ (introduction).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 449. See also pp. ٥-٦ (introduction).

own, as though the opinions of the poet had artistic value which could influence their judgement of the poem".<sup>11</sup>

Even though his forthright opinions outraged and continue to outrage a wide range of groups in the literary, social and political world in his country and outside it, Maḥfūz does not withhold from expressing them at every opportunity. In the author's opinion the Arab-Israeli conflict is only one of the problems facing the Arabs, and more difficult than it are the pressing internal and social problems: millions of babies are born each year and their nutrition and well-being must be guaranteed. In Egypt alone each year there are over a million new mouths to feed and take care of, and how can this be done when all of the country's resources are directed against Israel? The concern that not a single baby should go hungry in Egypt, and that some young man should not bury his dreams in wars, stands at the head of the author's priorities. He therefore does not hesitate to support the strategy of peace, despite all his reservations about Israeli policies. Al-Sādāt, in Maḥfūz's opinion, opened for the Egyptian people, and for all the Arabs, the gates of victory and peace, and his successor Ḥusnī Mubārak continues this policy by investing most of his energy in the solution of Egypt's urgent internal problems.

Criticism of Maḥfūz comes especially from the leftists, who in the sixties praised his writings, which they perceived as criticism against the regime of 'Abd al-Nāṣir.<sup>12</sup> The author is at peace with himself and is convinced that he has remained consistent: "I earned the appreciation of most of the leftist writers ... in the sixties for my work which was considered self-criticism of the revolution of 'Abd al-Nāṣir, but they changed their attitude towards me, despite the fact that personal relations between us have remained as they were, ever since the novel *al-Karnak* was published,<sup>13</sup> which is none other than a continuation of the self criticism, but in a more open language, for it was written in an atmosphere permitting such openness. Therefore it is not I who have changed but, amazingly, it is they".<sup>14</sup> Not long ago

<sup>11</sup> Nāzik al-Malā'ika, *Qadāyā al-Shi'r al-Mu'āṣir*, Beirut, 1962, p. 285.

<sup>12</sup> Maḥfūz always emphasizes that he has not rejected the July Revolution completely but has been trying to attract attention to its faults. See for example al-Ghīṭānī, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>13</sup> *Al-Karnak* Maktabat Miṣr, Cairo, 1974. On this novel see Shimon Ballas, *Littérature Arabe et le Conflict au Proche-Orient 1948-1973*, Preface de Maxime Rodinson, Paris, 1980, pp. 291-5.

<sup>14</sup> *October* weekly, 22 April 1984, interview with the author in the central pages.

rumors were spread that he supported the peace process with Israel in order to prepare the ground for earning the Nobel Prize of literature, but he did not take long to respond: "If the Nobel Prize is granted to me I will refuse to accept it because there were those who claimed that I am calling for peace and support of the Camp David Accords ... in order to satisfy the Zionist organizations who control, in their opinion, the Nobel Prize, and who determine to whom to grant this prize. Therefore I will refuse to accept the prize if it is granted to me, for I do not need the satisfaction of the Zionist organizations".<sup>15</sup>

The author's openness reached its height immediately following the outbreak of the war in Lebanon in June, 1982. At the time, hundreds of Egyptian writers and artists demonstrated against Israel and condemned the invasion of Lebanon by her forces, but the Arabic and international media chose to mention several conspicuous artists who did not join the protest, and among them were Najīb Maḥfūẓ and Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm.<sup>16</sup> What is more, about two months after the beginning of the war in Lebanon Maḥfūẓ was asked in a direct and leading way in a newspaper interview if he had something to say to Israel after its invasion of Lebanon, and he replied in a definite fashion: "What interests me is to turn to the Arabs and not to America or the Soviet Union or Israel ... the world will respect us only to the extent that we respect ourselves".<sup>17</sup> This answer is very reminiscent of the answer Maḥfūẓ gave after the 1967 war when asked his opinion about the role of the Arabic author in the struggle against Zionism. In this reply he pointed out two possible ways for the writer to deal with Zionism: directly or indirectly. Maḥfūẓ chose the second way: "The battle between us and Israel is not limited to the question of conquering territories or war, or the question of the refugees, the battle is one of civilizations and destiny. From this perspective anyone dealing with the negative and positive aspects of the Arab world enters the area of the problem in an indirect manner".<sup>18</sup> In his opinion the Arabs must first of all take care of

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* Some critics found connection between his early Pharaonic novels (see nn. 73-4, below) and his "Zionism" as "it is natural for the Pharaonic to agree with Zionism". Shukrī, *op. cit.*, p. 2 (introduction).

<sup>16</sup> E.g., *al-Mustaqbal*, 14 August 1982, p. 61.

<sup>17</sup> *October* weekly, 25 July 1982, p. 52.

<sup>18</sup> Aḥmad Muḥammad 'Atīyya, "Liḳā' Ma'a Najīb Maḥfūẓ", *al-Ādāb*, January 1970, p. 27. (= *idem.*, *Ma'a N. M.*, p. 14).



their own business.<sup>19</sup> Still, the author does not withhold from presenting the conflict in his works, but, in his own words, "I do this on an abstract level as I did in *Taḥt al-Mizalla*,<sup>20</sup> for a realistic portrayal of the problem is difficult, since we do not have a full understanding of the reality".<sup>21</sup>

Maḥfūz, unlike the majority of Egyptian writers and intellectuals, has also held meetings with Israeli intellectuals, scholars and writers visiting in Egypt. Particularly noteworthy are his close ties with the Israeli scholar Sasson Somekh, who has devoted a number of in-depth studies to his works. In addition, he has not been afraid to express his opinion that his works have been particular well understood by Israeli scholars such as Somekh and Mattityahu Peled: "Somekh and Peled have succeeded in analyzing the literary structures and the human characters in my stories. I was surprised from the studies they wrote in Hebrew and English (on my works — R.S.) ... Somekh wrote a study (on my works — R.S.) and when I read it I felt as though he had lived for many years at my side ...".<sup>22</sup>

## B. ALLEGORY AS A REFUGE

Maḥfūz, who first achieved fame in the 1950's as a realistic writer after he published his famous trilogy (1956-7), has since become known for his symbolical and allegorical writing. Although the precise meanings and intentions of his stories and allegories, and especially those written following the June war defeat of 1967, may not be fully understood, their relevance and connection to the political and social problems of Egypt is not in any doubt. Most of the readers and the critics find them extremely obscure, as Ḥamdī Sakkout says, "because Maḥfūz relies so heavily on symbolism and the use of the absurd that, while the general message of a story may be grasped, the significance of details is sometimes not at all clear. Critics, on the whole, have avoided commenting on these later collections (published after 1967 — R.S.), and have hesitated to offer any interpretations".<sup>23</sup> Maḥfūz is particularly fond of allegory, and especially for expressing his ideas on political, social, religious and

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Ballas, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 172.

<sup>20</sup> *Taḥt al-Mizalla*, Cairo, 1969.

<sup>21</sup> 'Aṭiyya, *Ma'a N. M.*, p. 158.

<sup>22</sup> *October* weekly, 25 April 1982, pp. 78-9.

<sup>23</sup> Sakkout, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

cultural issues, ideas which he could just as well express in essays. Maḥfūz, when once asked why he did not choose this easier and more open path, replied that had God favored him with his own personal philosophy he would not have hesitated for even a moment to express it in the most appropriate manner, that is in essays, but since he does not have his own original personal philosophy all that is left for him to do is to give a literary dress to his ideas and opinions.<sup>24</sup> One of the ways in which Maḥfūz expresses his ideas is, as mentioned above, through allegory, and indeed several studies have been devoted to deciphering some of his allegories.<sup>25</sup>

As is well known, the literary value of the allegory has declined in our day, but it is still in use in countries ruled by political-intellectual dictatorships. In the allegory "the author ... disguises his criticism or satire for fear of reprisal",<sup>26</sup> as the historical novel "especially during periods of repression and censure, often provides a safe outlet for criticism of the regime in power: in a historical context, criticism can easily and understandably be expressed in a disguised manner and so circumvent censorship".<sup>27</sup> G. Ṭarābīshī exaggerated, in our opinion, in his lecture before the Eighth Conference of Arabic Authors which gathered in Damascus (December 11-15, 1971), when he attributed the development of symbolic language in modern Arabic literature to the lack of political freedom of expression in Arab countries.<sup>28</sup> This claim seems to us to be too extreme, but it is nonetheless beyond a doubt that this lack of freedom was an important factor in accelerating this development. In a time of a crisis of confidence and search, and in an atmosphere limiting freedom of expression, writers searched for new means of expression in order to reflect a complex and tension-filled reality, and they naturally arrived at the abstract, expressionist, allegorical and symbolic styles.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Al-Hilāl*, February, 1970, p. 39.

<sup>25</sup> E.g., M. Milson, "Reality, Allegory and Myth in the Work of Najīb Maḥfūz", *Asian and African Studies*, Vol. XI, 1976, pp. 157-179; idem., "An Allegory on the Social and Cultural Crisis in Egypt: *Walid al-Anā*' by Najīb Maḥfūz", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. III, 1972, pp. 324-347; idem., "Religion and Revolution in an Allegory by Najīb Maḥfūz: A Study of *Rūḥ Ṭabīb al-Qulūb*", in M. Rosen-Ayalon (ed.), *Studies in Memory of G. Wiet*, Jerusalem, 1977, pp. 435-462. See also n. 38, below.

<sup>26</sup> Karl Beckson & Arthur Ganz, *Literary Terms*, New York, 1975, p. 8.

<sup>27</sup> J. Brugman, *An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt*, Leiden, 1984, p. 310.

<sup>28</sup> See *al-Adāb*, January 1972, p. 91. See also Suhayl Idrīs about the same subject in *al-Adāb*, April 1973, p. 7. Cf. 'Atīyya, *Ma'a N. M.*, p. 171; Ballas, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

The limitations placed in various periods on freedom of expression in Egypt required Maḥfūz too to take an indirect rather than a direct path,<sup>30</sup> and we can find hints of this in his work.<sup>31</sup> One of his most famous allegories is *Awlād Ḥāratinā* ("Children of our Quarter"), which was serialized by Maḥfūz in 1959 in *al-Abrām*<sup>32</sup> after a period of silence on the part of the author.<sup>33</sup> This allegorical novel grapples with the problems of civilization as it has evolved since the rise of the three great monotheistic religions until the modern age. It deals with the place of religion in society and with the relations between religion and political power. On approaching the modern era, the novel deals with the question of science as opposed to religion.<sup>34</sup> Ghālī Shukrī, who believes that Maḥfūz' previous long silence from 1952 until 1959 was due to his feeling that he was not free to say

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Milson, "Religion and Revolution...", pp. 437-8. See also, for example, the treatment of censorship in Maḥfūz's *al-Ḥubb taḥt al-Maṭar* (Dār Miṣr, Cairo, 1973) in Shukrī, *op. cit.*, pp. d-h (introduction). Cf. 'Aṭiyya, *Ma'a N. M.*, p. 180. On this novel, which was published in book form in 1973, after partial serialization, beginning in december 1972 in the only three issues of *al-Shabab* magazine produced by the Arab Socialist Union, see T. Le Gassick, "An Analysis of *al-Ḥubb taḥt al-Maṭar* a Novel by Najīb Maḥfūz", in R.C. Ostle (ed.), *Studies ...*, pp. 140-151; Ballas, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-3; 'Aṭiyya, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-184.

<sup>31</sup> E.g., *al-Sukkariyya*, Maktabat Miṣr, Cairo, 1977 (1957), p. 209. Cf. 'Aṭiyya, *Ma'a N. M.*, pp. 174-5; 'Amir, "N. M. Siyāsiyyan...", p. 26.

<sup>32</sup> *Al-Abrām*, 21 September — 25 December 1959. First published as a book: Beirut, Dār al-Ādāb, 1967. The religious circles in Egypt felt that the novel did not treat the sanctities of Islam with the appropriate reverence, and publication of this work in a book form was therefore prohibited in Egypt. Cf. *Mawāqif*, I (October-November, 1968), pp. 85-6.

<sup>33</sup> Maḥfūz and his critics give several explanations for this silence: see Fu'ād Dawwāra, "Ma'a Najīb Maḥfūz fī 'Īdihi al-Dhahabī", *al-Kātib*, 22 (January, 1963), p. 17; idem., *'Asharatu Uḍabā' Yataḥaddathūna*, Cairo, 1965, pp. 283-284. Somekh, *The Changing Rhythm*, pp. 51-2; idem., "Za'balāwī-Author, Theme and Technique", *Journal of Arabic Literature*, I (1970), p. 25; Milson, *Najīb Maḥfūz ...*, p. 177; Peled, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 171; Brugman, *op. cit.*, p. 303; Shukrī, *op. cit.*, p. 235; al-Ghīṭānī, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-1.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. L. O. Schuman, *Eine moderne arabische vertelling: Najīb Maḥfūz, Awlād Ḥāritnā*, Leiden, 1965; S. Somekh, *The Changing Rhythm*, pp. 137-155; idem., "Za'balāwī-Author...", pp. 30-1. idem., "The Sad Millenarian: An Examination of *Awlād Ḥāratinā*", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. VII (1) January 1971, pp. 49-61; Milson, "Reality, Allegory and Myth...", pp. 158, 162-164, 179; Peled, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-196; P. J. Vatikiotis, "The Corruption of Futuwa: A Consideration of Despair in Najīb Maḥfūz *Awlād Ḥāritnā*", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. VII (2) May 1971, pp. 169-184; Shukrī, *op. cit.*, pp. 238-266; 'Alī Shalāq, *Najīb Maḥfūz fī Majhūlihi al-Ma'lūm*, Beirut, 1979, pp. 119-140. On the influence of this novel upon Amīn Shannār's *al-Kabūs* (Dār al-Nahār, Beirut, 1968) see Ballas, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-269. See also a clear summary demonstrating the essentials of Maḥfūz's views on religion in Milson, "Religion and Revolution...", pp. 459-460.

what he wanted, asserts that when Maḥfūz resumed his writings he was still under the influence of "the crisis of freedom and cultural backwardness", and he "turned to symbolic form in *Awlād Ḥaratinā* only because he had not yet freed himself from the stress of this crisis".<sup>35</sup>

### C. "RATTUS NORVEGICUS"

One of Maḥfūz's most recent allegories is the short story *al-Fa'r al-Nurwījī* ("Rattus Norvegicus"), in which he presents, in my opinion, his outlook regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict.<sup>36</sup> In this paper we will attempt to decipher, in as much detail as possible, this story, keeping in mind the other works of the author, and constantly referring to his opinions about the conflict as published in the Arabic press. The strange and absurd events in this story make it necessary to relate to it as an allegory, in which a layer of ideas is symbolized by a concrete layer, for it is unthinkable that the author limits the meaning of the story to the concrete layer. This is in contrast to a different type of story written by Maḥfūz, which can be understood at one and the same time on both the realistic and symbolic levels, such as the story *Za'balāwī*, a short story which was first published in *al-Abrām*<sup>37</sup> and was incorporated later with other stories in Maḥfūz's book *Dunwā Allāh* ("The World of God").<sup>38</sup> *Al-Fa'r al-Nurwījī*, like many of his novels and short stories since the end of the 1970's,<sup>38a</sup> deals with the very essence of the Middle East conflict and its influence and destructive impact upon the Arab people. Maḥfūz

<sup>35</sup> Shukrī, *op. cit.*, p. 239. Cf. Peled, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibdā'*, May 1983, pp. 4-6. The story was subsequently incorporated into the collection *al-Tanzīm al-Sirrī* (Cairo, 1984), pp. 140-48.

<sup>37</sup> *Al-Abrām*, 12 May 1961, p. 12.

<sup>38</sup> *Dunwā Allāh*, Dār Miṣr, Cairo, 1963, pp. 158-175. An English translation can be found in Denys Johnson-Davies' *Modern Arabic Short Stories*, Heinemann, London, 1981 (1967), pp. 135-145. For a detailed analysis of the story see S. Somekh, "Za'balāwī-Author...", pp. 24-35. See also idem, *The Changing Rhythm*, pp. 57, 172; M. Milson, "Najīb Maḥfūz and the Quest for Meaning", *Arabica*, XVII (1970), pp. 178-180; Peled, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-211; G. Ṭarābīshī, *Allāh fī Riḥlat Najīb Maḥfūz al-Ramziya*, Beirut, 1973, pp. 40-51.

<sup>38a</sup> Ḥilmī Badīr sees three major stages in the art of short story of Maḥfūz: (a). An experimental stage (1932-1948). (b). A mature stage (1965-1973). (c). A stage in which Maḥfūz reaches the peak of his literary creativity (since 1979). See Badīr, "al-Qiṣṣa al-Qaṣīra 'ind Najīb Maḥfūz", *Fuṣūl*, Vol. II, No. 4 (July-September 1982), pp. 83-4.

prefers the genre of the short story to express his political ideas, since these ideas are influenced by changing external circumstances and cannot wait to be expressed in a full novel, whose writing takes a long time,<sup>39</sup> or as Ḥamdī Sakkout says: "In his enthusiasm to comment on contemporary events, it is not surprising that Maḥfūz should turn to the short story, rather than to the novel, which requires time and reflection".<sup>40</sup> The writer himself said following the 1967 war: "The short story is more suited (to reflect — R.S.) the present situation".<sup>41</sup>

The arena on which the story is played out is a typical Egyptian apartment building, which is threatened with destruction by a terrible plague of rats of a special variety, Norway rats. The story is presented through the eyes of one of the residents, who describes four meetings held by residents of the building, the goal of which is to discuss the approaching disaster and ways to defend themselves and their families from it. The initiator of these meetings, who is also the most respected and wealthy of the building's residents, is the only one in the story who is given a name, and more specifically only the initials of his name are reported, A.M. It is quite possible that this is an allusion to the absurd reality that Maḥfūz is building in the story, like Franz Kafka who used the initial K. to describe the hero of *das Schloss* and *der Prozess*. Indeed, the situation in the story is very reminiscent — in its strangeness, as well as in its overall allegorical context — of stories and fables by Kafka with an intellectual and general existential message.<sup>42</sup> In fact, it is quite reasonable to assume that Maḥfūz was influenced by Kafka in the literary fashioning of this story, since Maḥfūz has read works by Kafka and admits that he was influenced by him.<sup>43</sup> Maḥfūz is close to Kafka in a number of ways, and especially in the intensive use which the two of them make of the absurd,<sup>44</sup> but it is obvious that Maḥfūz message in this story,

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Badīr, *op. cit.*, p. 83; 'Aṭiyya, *Ma'a N. M.*, p. 140.

<sup>40</sup> Sakkout, *op. cit.*, p. 125. Cf. Somekh, *The Changing Rhythm*, p. 195.

<sup>41</sup> 'Aṭiyya, "Liqa' ...", p. 29. (= idem., *Ma'a N. M.*, p. 20). Cf. B. Ramaḍān, "Mustaqbal al-Qiṣṣa al-Qaṣīra Ilā Ayna", *al-Akbbār*, 23 February 1984, p. 9.

<sup>42</sup> E.g., Kafka's "Kleine Fabel", in F. Kafka, *Beschreibung eines Kampfes*, Schocken Books, New York, 1956, p. 121.

<sup>43</sup> See Dawwāra, "Ma'a Najīb Maḥfūz ...", pp. 8, 11; idem., 'Asharatu Udabā' ..., pp. 270, 275; *Mawāqif*, I (October–November, 1968), p. 87; Somekh, *The Changing Rhythm*, p. 45; Shukrī, *op. cit.*, p. 389; Sabry Ḥafēz, "Innovation in Egyptian Short Story", in R.C. Ostle (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 111; al-Ghītānī, p. 42; Ballas, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. R.K. Myers, *op. cit.*, pp. 82–96; Somekh, *The Changing Rhythm*, pp. 195–6; Sakkout, *op. cit.*, p. 122; 'Aṭiyya, *Ma'a N. M.*, pp. 99–112. See also nn. 60, 63–4, below.

as in many of his stories, is limited to a specific time and place, whereas Kafka usually emphasized the universal, existential, and philosophical.

A.M. presents before those in attendance a threatening picture of the disaster which is about to take place, based on reports in the media: the rats, which are about to invade the apartment building, destroy everything that stands in their way. His words are accepted at first almost without reservation on the part of participants, who already see in their mind's eye the horrible destruction of their homes and families. The tenants are asked to perform with precision the orders from A.M. and from the central government (represented by the governor, mentioned only indirectly in the story), and they are prepared at this stage for any sacrifice requested of them, which are for now limited to conventional means: placing rat traps and the usual poisons, and of course the placing of cats wherever there was a suspicion that the attack might begin — even though the rats were known to attack cats and men! The approaching plague becomes the tenants' most important problem, and the central topic of their discussions and dreams.

The second meeting portrays the situation after the beginning of preparations for the expected invasion of rats: A.M. expresses his satisfaction at the steps which have been taken, but there is already a hint of resentment on the part of a number of tenants about the new situation: the many cats which have been placed at the entrance to the building, in the stairway and on the roof in preparation for the expected attack need to be fed, and their food is an expense which is not easy to bear. In this meeting A.M. receives a report from the tenants on their activities, and one of them tells him that a rat was caught in his trap — but instead of *Rattus norvegicus*, it was a lean national rat! In other words, no one has yet really seen the enemy! The tenants are threatened by a mysterious entity which none of them has ever seen, with the exception of reports in the media. Could it be, the reader already asks himself at this stage, that the rat is an imaginary and unreal entity?! At this stage the residents are asked to make additional sacrifices: use will be made of a new poison, and this before there is any proof of the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the usual poison for killing rats when dealing with these rats, for the enemy has not yet appeared! What is more, the new poison may injure the tenants themselves! And indeed damages are inflicted upon the tenants even before the rat shows its face: a number of hens and

one cat are killed. There are signs of tension among the tenants, to the point that they are willing for the plague to arrive already, as the expectation of it is so much more difficult.<sup>45</sup> At the same time, in a conversation between tenants rumors are passed from one to another attributing horrible deeds to the rats — like the destruction of an entire village and all its inhabitants — till the imagination is filled with horrifying pictures of masses of cruel rats, and refugees fleeing them and wandering in the deserts aimlessly. The narrator wonders whether such a thing could really happen and his answer is certain: of course! Did God not send the flood and the flocks of birds?<sup>46</sup> When these pictures arise in the minds of the tenants they understand that this is a war for life and death: if they are not victorious then their end will be near.

In the third meeting A.M. maintains his exalted mood while the mood of the rest of the tenants is getting desperate. His blessings and compliments to the tenants for their activities, and his report that the governor is happy with their vigorous activity no longer impress them. They complain, but A.M. cuts off each such complaint with contempt. He also does not know when the attack will begin, and what is more, he doesn't really care, since in his opinion, "It is of no importance as long as we are prepared for the battle". of course the tenants are asked to make more sacrifices, and all this before even one of them has succeeded in spotting a single rat of the type they are told is threatening the building! The new orders require the apartments to be hermetically sealed, to such an extent that not even a single crack remains through which a piece of straw could penetrate. The complaints of the tenants that the new orders make their lives insufferable make no impression whatsoever on A.M., for "we are at war", and they, humbled, have no choice other than to carry out all that they are ordered to do.<sup>47</sup>

The fourth meeting is, according to the narrator, the last meeting.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibdā'*, May 1983, p. 5.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* Relies on the Qur'ān: "And He loosed upon them birds in flights" (*al-Fīl*, 3), and "The Floods seized them, while they were evildoers" (*al-'Ankabūt*, 14). English translation of Qur'anic verses here and below from A.J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*, Oxford University Press, 1979 (1955).

<sup>47</sup> *Ibdā'*, May 1983, p. 6: *wa-maḍaynā nunaḥḍū mā umirnā bibi sāghirīn*. This is an allusion to the traditional meaning of the Qur'anic verse: "Fight those who believe not in God and the last day (i.e. ahl al-dhimma — R.S.)... until they pay the tribute out of hand and have been humbled" (*al-Tawba*, 29). A detailed study of the relevant phrase attempting to arrive at its original intent, see M. J. Kister, "'An Yadin' (Qurā'n, 9/29)". *Arabica*, XI (1964), pp. 272-8.

That is, the narrator, who as mentioned is one of the residents of the building, is revealed at this point as having knowledge which is withheld at this stage from the other characters in the story:<sup>48</sup> he knows that after this meeting there will be no more meetings, apparently because the rats will no longer threaten the apartment building! In this meeting A.M. is still in high spirits, and he gives the tenants an additional piece of good news: a special staff of experts has been allotted the task of inspecting the buildings and apartments which were in danger. This news makes the tenants happy, for they innocently believe that this staff will relieve them of some of the heavy burden of the precautionary measures placed on them in the face of the plague.

A week after this fourth and last meeting an expert arrives to inspect the apartment of the narrator. The expert immediately attracts his attention, as his face is reminiscent of the face of a cat, which is to say that his appearance matches his job: to fight the dangerous rats. After he completed his inspection and gave additional instructions for the protection of the apartment, he smells the aroma of food cooking in the kitchen, since the members of the family were about to sit down to eat lunch just before the expert arrived. He expresses his admiration for the heartwarming aroma, and of course, in accordance with traditional Arab hospitality, he is invited to eat, while the family claims that they already eaten. Without any hesitation the expert accepts the invitation,<sup>49</sup> and begins to gobble down the food with incredible appetite. So as not to embarrass him the members of the household leaves him alone, but the narrator finds it appropriate to come in after a while to give him a additional portion. At this stage the narrator takes note of an astonishing change in his appearance. His face, which had reminded him of a cat, has undergone a metamorphosis and now reminds him of the face of a rat, and what's more, the face of *Rattus norvegicus*! He feels dizzy and he asks his wife to go to the guest and ask him if he wants anything else, not yet telling her what he had seen. When the

<sup>48</sup> The narrator in the story is "witness narrator", in the terminology of N. Friedman ["Point of View in Fiction: The Development of a Critical Concept", in R. Scholes (ed.), *Approaches to the Novel*, San Francisco, 1961, pp. 130-1], but in this point he becomes "privileged narrator", or perhaps "reliable author" in the words of W. C. Booth [*The rhetoric of Fiction*, The University of Chicago Press, 1969 (1961), pp. 158-9, 161-3].

<sup>49</sup> *Ibdā'*, May 1983, p. 6: "only an evil-hearted man could refuse such generosity!"



woman comes back they both stand pale and confused, disbelieving what they had seen with their own eyes. They awake from their confusion only when they hear the voice of the rat-expert thanking them for the delicious meal, and when they hurry towards him, perhaps in order to stop him, they only manage to see his swaying back, in addition to a "quick Norwegian smile" which he granted them. The story concludes with them standing confused and astonished behind the door.

#### D. MAḤFUZ'S USE OF THE SHORT STORY AND THE ABSURD

Hilmī Badīr is largely correct when he notes that the most outstanding characteristic of the short stories written by Maḥfūz is that they "consciously follow the development of day-to-day Egyptian reality".<sup>50</sup> At the same time it seems that this story stands in contradiction to Badīr's statement, in the continuation of the above-quoted sentence, that Maḥfūz short stories are characterized by a partial presentation of a world view, while the novels present encompassing world views, "in the sense that Maḥfūz usually uses the short story in order to express a small portion of a view which troubles him... while he uses the novel as an art form which is capable of including an encompassing and general framework of a world view". Badīr's claim relies, perhaps, on the generic characteristics of the short story: "The novel describes the river from its source until it flows into the sea, while the short story describes one lone whirlpool on the face of the water in this river".<sup>51</sup> Or, using another image, "If we compare the novel to the sun, whose sparkling robe falls upon the whole world, illuminating it together with everything on it, then the short story should be compared to a burst of lightning, which briefly, yet superbly, throws light upon one corner of the world or one object in it".<sup>52</sup>

The story before us indeed meets the criteria of a short story on its concrete level, but on the level of allegory it presents an encompassing world view. Even though the story is very short, it is a clear presentation of Maḥfūz's inclusive and encompassing view of the Arab-Israeli conflict, touching allegorically upon nearly every impor-

<sup>50</sup> Badīr, *op. cit.*, p. 87. Cf. Shukrī, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>51</sup> Nabīl Rāghib, *Dalīl al-Nāqīd al-Adabī*, Cairo, 1981, p. 160.

<sup>52</sup> Olga Scherer-Virski, *The Modern Polish Short Story*, Mouton, 1955, p. 3.

tant aspect of this conflict. Allegory has previously been used by the Palestinian writer Dr. Ishāq Mūsā al-Ḥusaynī (b. 1904) to express his views on the Jewish-Arab conflict. His allegory, *Mudhakkirāt Dajāja* ("Memoirs of a Hen"<sup>53</sup>) stood out for its literary quality and its approach to the conflict which was unique and exceptional within Arabic literature of the time in which it was published. Al-Ḥusaynī wrote this work, which preaches peace and brotherhood between Jews and Arabs, instead of the use of force and violence, in a time when very few Arabic writers swam against the current, and he was viciously attacked on the pretext that he agreed with the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people.<sup>54</sup> The introduction to this work was written by Dr. Tāha Ḥusayn, and alongside words of praise, he hinted at this allegorical meaning, surely in line with the intentions of the author.<sup>55</sup>

"As a rule, an allegory is a story... with double-meaning: a primary or surface meaning; and a secondary or under the surface meaning".<sup>56</sup> And indeed in *al-Fa'r al-Nurwījī* too, as in many of Maḥfūz's stories, the reader senses that the author wishes to say things beyond the events themselves in the plot. Maḥfūz excels at this, and especially in his later work, for he does not tell stories for entertainment alone. Each of his works is "part of a complete conceptual system, and its importance cannot be found in it alone, or in its special framework, but rather in its connection to contemporary events, or to the conceptual framework which encompasses it".<sup>57</sup> About our story we cannot say what Somekh said about a story like *Za'balāwī*: "The remarkable thing about the author's craft in *Za'balāwī* is the fine equilibrium that is maintained between the two layers of the story. The external layer is by no means subdued or blurred by the inner one. In fact the story can be fully accepted as credible. Everything is plausible, being extracted from the depths of the Egyptians' life".<sup>58</sup> A good description of stories like *al-Fa'r al-*

<sup>53</sup> Ishāq Mūsā al-Ḥusaynī, *Mudhakkirāt Dajāja*, Cairo, 1943.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Moreh, *op. cit.*, p. 36; Ballas, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-33. See a different interpretation of the allegory in George Kanazi, "Qirā'a Jadida... *Mudhakkirāt Dajāja*", *al-Karmil*, II (1981), pp. 117-136.

<sup>55</sup> *Mudhakkirāt Dajāja*, pp. 6-7. We find a clear hint by the author to this allegorical meaning in his brief introduction to the book (*ibid.*, p. 9). Cf. his words in *al-Fajar* (Jerusalem), 16 February 1986, p. 8.

<sup>56</sup> J.A. Cuddon, *A Dictionary of Literary Terms*, Penguin Books, 1986 (1977), p. 24.

<sup>57</sup> Badīr, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

<sup>58</sup> Somekh, "Za'balāwī - Author...", p. 31. Cf. *idem.*, *The Changing Rhythm*, p. 57.

*Nurwījī* was given by Ḥamdī Sakkout when he said: "They have very little meaning when taken literally, and the majority can be understood only at the symbolic level. Moreover, the symbolism is such that most of the stories are experienced on the level of riddles or crossword puzzles rather than of artistic and emotive allegories".<sup>59</sup>

One last comment before we begin to decipher the clues in the story: Maḥfūz is swept in our story, like in many of his stories, in the direction of the absurd, and leaves the realistic-symbolic path which has rightfully brought him a reputation as the greatest of contemporary Arab writers. But under no circumstances should we treat Maḥfūz as a writer of the absurd. The absurd, which presents a disortion of real life, serves for him, as it did for Kafka, as one of the contrasting poles which he presents in his stories, a pole from which it is necessary to stay away.<sup>60</sup> Maḥfūz was and remains a realist, even when he makes uses of the style of the absurd. The author himself rejects unequivocally any attempt to categorize him as belonging to the school of absurd writers: "I am absolutely not a writer of absurd. Do you know what absurd is? The meaning of the absurd, briefly, is that there is no meaning to life, while to me life has meaning and purpose. All of my literary experience has been a battle against the absurd. It could be that I sense the diffusion of absurdity, but I fight against it, try to make it rational, to explain it, to defeat it. Some of the heroes of *al-Ḥarāfīsh*<sup>61</sup> look as though their lives were in vain, but in the context of the greater family they were not in vain".<sup>62</sup> And elsewhere he explains: "I am definitely not a writer of the absurd, but rather a writer committed to certain questions, which were and remain pressing to me. I began with them and I will end with them ... a writer of the absurd does not believe in any values or any truth. This literature is a literature without any meaning of any kind".<sup>63</sup>

With regard to a significant portion of the short stories written by Maḥfūz since the 1967 war, we can unequivocally accept the words of S. Ballas, who rejected attempts to place Maḥfūz in the absurd school: "His work does not attempt to express a universal philosophical conception or an existentialist world view (in contrast to

<sup>59</sup> Sakkout, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Myers, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>61</sup> *Al-Ḥarāfīsh*, Cairo, 1977.

<sup>62</sup> Al-Ghīṭānī, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>63</sup> Aṭīyya, "Liḳā' ...", pp. 27-8. (= *idem.*, *Ma'a N. M.*, p. 19).

Kafka, as noted above — R.S.), but rather reflects in an abstract and symbolic way a concrete reality with a temporal dimension and a very specific geographic framework. Anyone who imposes additional meaning or searches for answers to questions which are outside the specific temporal and geographical frames of the stories is likely to do them a great deal of injustice".<sup>64</sup> At the same time, this generalization seems too harsh regarding all of Maḥfūz's work, and it would be doing him a great disservice if we were to absolutely deny the existence of any universal and existential value in his work. Indeed, in some ways it can be said that, in terms of the mastery of the art of the short story displayed by the author, this story represents something of a retreat relative to earlier short stories,<sup>65</sup> but the reason for this is quite obvious: Maḥfūz is laying out for us, with amazing openness, his political and socio-political credo. In the process he makes sure that there remain no clues which might permit a simple realistic reading of the story. What is more, through the absurd situation in the external layer of this story Maḥfūz wants to hint to us at the absurdity of the inner layer!

#### E. "DESCRIPTION IN CODE"

"An essential feature of allegory is that it is to be interpreted point by point. Every feature must represent something else. Allegory has been aptly compared to a description in code, always prompting the reader to ask what the persons or articles or events in the story stand for".<sup>66</sup> And indeed we can successfully decipher the clues in the allegory before us, and relate them to central factors and motifs in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

There is no doubt that the terrible *Rattus norvegicus* about whose horrible deeds the media reports incessantly symbolizes Israel. The monstrous image of the rat brings to mind the monstrous and terrible image of the Israeli as the Arabic media and literature portrayed him and created him in the consciousness of the Arabs.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>64</sup> S. Ballas, *Arab Literature under the Shadow of War* (in Hebrew), Tel Aviv, 1978, p. 258.

<sup>65</sup> Sakkout says in this connection on Maḥfūz: "His political stories are, in my opinion, surpassed by those of Yūsuf Idrīs, whose stories are richer, and can often be read at both the symbolic and the literal levels with equal enjoyment" (Sakkout, *op. cit.*, p. 125).

<sup>66</sup> Patrick Murray, *Literary Criticism*, Longman, London, 1978, p. 3.

<sup>67</sup> See Ballas, *La Littérature ...*, pp. 45-6, 131-144.

Aside from its monstrous qualities as described by the media, even its name, *Rattus norvegicus* (Norway rat), alludes to Israel: early Islamic tradition identifies the rat with a lost tribe of the Children of Israel.<sup>68</sup> The author's choice of the description of the rat as "Norwegian" was also certainly not accidental: Norway, which is located in the distant north, symbolizes for the Egyptians the north, and Israel is for Egypt the enemy which comes from the north! The plague of rats is also reminiscent of the plagues which poured down on Egypt when the Children of Israel left Egypt, and there is an ironic allusion on the part of the author to an additional plague being inflicted on the Egyptians in their relations with the Children of Israel.

The apartment building which the rats are threatening is Egypt. Maḥfūz leaves no room for doubt that the relevance of the allegory is to Egypt: the expert orders the gatekeeper to be alert and to "inform the authorities of any rat that appears, Norwegian or Egyptian!" In other words, Maḥfūz places a limitation on anyone who might try to interpret the allegory, emphasizing its relevance to Egypt. The requirement placed on the gatekeeper to report the appearance of any rat, including an Egyptian rat, can be interpreted as indicating that the danger can come from within and not only from without, and it is quite possible that this is an allusion to the Jews living in Egypt. At the same time, there is an allusion in the story to other Arab countries: the tenants are informed by the media, that they are not the only ones threatened by the rats. Moreover, the very first sentence of the story notes that the misfortune of the tenants in our story is also the misfortune of others. Through A.M. we know that the governor is helping and giving orders, and A.M. informs the tenants that their expertise in fighting rats may even lead to their being used to help out in "other places", meaning that the rats are threatening other apartment buildings as well — Israel is threatening not only Egypt but also other Arab countries.

A.M., the most senior of those living in the building and the most respected, is a key figure in the story, and deciphering his character can provide us with a key to the meaning of the entire story. A number of interpretations are possible for this character, and one of

<sup>68</sup> See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo, n.d., vol. II p. 140; and the explanation of al-Qastallānī, *Irshād al-Sārī, Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Cairo, 1293/1876, vol. V, p. 368. Cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo, n.d., vol. II, pp. 234, 289; A.J. Wensinck & J.P. Mensing (ed.), *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, Leiden, 1936-69, vol. V, p. 39, s.v. *ja'r*.

the most tempting is its identification with the governing regime, in which case the initials A.M. allude to the royal family (*al-Usra al-Malikiyya*) which reigned at the time of the establishment of the State of Israel and at the outset of the wars between the two sides of the conflict. But it seems that the understanding of the allegory in a way in which the allegorical level matches perfectly with the realistic level, leads to his definitive identification as representing *National Security*. In fact, the initials A.M. match this identification perfectly: *Amn Miṣr* ("Security of Egypt"). This interpretation sheds special meaning on the ironic and awe-filled expressions with which the narrator describes A.M.:<sup>69</sup> he is the most respected and wealthy of the residents in the building, just like national security, whose status among Egyptian national priorities prior to the peace process was unquestioned. When he gathers the residents he speaks "calmly and with a sense of pride in his leadership",<sup>70</sup> he is a man of stature, "may the Lord protect him",<sup>71</sup> an expression usually reserved for kings and superior rulers, he is our "brave and noble neighbor",<sup>72</sup> and in meetings with the residents he allows himself to give orders and to interrupt the words of bothersome neighbors, who want to complain about their loathsome situation. This was indeed the status of national security in Egypt, at least until the beginning of the peace process with Israel, and all national resources were subordinate to its authority.

The four meetings represent the four wars in which Egypt was involved with Israel:

1948 — the war following the establishment of the State of Israel.

1956 — the Suez War.

1967 — the Six Day War.

1973 — the Yom Kippur War.

Thus the description of the fourth meeting by the narrator-tenant as the last meeting gains added significance. That is, after this meeting the apartment building will no longer be exposed to the danger of the rats! And on the symbolized level: the Yom Kippur War is the last war, for after it peace was achieved with Israel. There is no doubt that Maḥfūz also has a hidden purpose of separating the fate of

<sup>69</sup> *Ibdā'*, May 1983, p. 4.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*: *bi-hudū' wa-tiḡāz bi-riyāsatihi*.

<sup>71</sup> *ibid.*, p. 5: *al-sayyid al-fādil ḥafīẓhu Allāh*.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*: *jārūnā al-humām*.

Egypt from the fate of the other Arab states, since before he published this story an additional war broke out between Israel and the Arabs, but a war in which Egypt did not take part! It seems that Maḥfūz still secretly harbors a special affection for Pharaonic nationalism, to which he leaned in his youth,<sup>73</sup> under the influence of the Coptic thinker Salāma Mūsā (1887-1958), who was one of the outstanding figures influencing the formation of his early world view.<sup>74</sup> Indeed, Maḥfūz spent his youth during a period in which, according to Albert Hourani, "Pharaonic nationalism was at its height, and Egyptians were concerned primarily with their own problem of independence, child of their own history":

The cats are the Egyptian military forces. They are placed on three levels, which allude to the three branches of the Egyptian army:

- a) In the entrance to the building — the land forces placed on the border with Israel.
- b) On the roof — the air force.
- c) In the basement, to which the steps lead — the navy.<sup>76</sup>

A.M. is very pleased when he sees the entrance to the building swarming with cats — or the border with Israel filled with military forces — but he hints incidentally that the tenants are complaining about the expense of feeding these cats — an allusion to the Egyptian defense budget subjugated to goals of war with Israel. A.M. dismisses this with a saying commonly used by totalitarian rulers when they ask for sacrifices from civilians,<sup>77</sup> a banal and routine saying heard often in the Arab media when sacrifices are required for the purposes of war with an outside enemy. In addition,

<sup>73</sup> See for example his Pharaonic novels (written between September 1935-April 1938) *ʿAbath al-Aqdār* (1939), *Rādūbīs* (1943), *Kifāh Tiba* (1944). See also Somekh, *The Changing Rhythm*, pp. 26-7, 46, 60-1; Brugman, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-8; al-Ghitānī, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44; n. 15, above.

<sup>74</sup> On Salāma Mūsā's influence on Maḥfūz (who published his first articles in the early 1930's in *al-Majalla al-Jadīda*, owned and edited by the noted Copt left-wing publicist and thinker) see Dawwāra, "Ma'a Najīb Maḥfūz ...", p. 12; idem., *ʿAṣharatu Udabā'* ..., pp. 278-9; Milson, "Reality, Allegory and Myth ...", pp. 177-8, and n. 62, p. 178; Somekh, *The Changing Rhythm*, pp. 38, 41, 49, 107, n. 1; idem., *Za'balāwī-Author ...*, p. 24; Peled, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 26; Shukrī, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-51; Brugman, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-6, 400.

<sup>75</sup> Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thoughts in the Liberal Age 1798-1939*, Cambridge University Press, 1986 (1962), p. 295. Cf. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry*, Leiden, 1977, pp. 144-5; Brugman, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

<sup>76</sup> The author uses the words "bi'r al-sullam" which connote water.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibdā'*, May 1983, p. 5: *kull shay' yabūnu fī sabīl al-amn wa-l-āman*.

from a linguistic perspective the story is loaded with expressions routinely used in the Arab media to describe the external danger and to emphasize all signs of patriotism and solidarity in the struggle against the external enemy.<sup>78</sup> The Arabic electronic media and press are full of expressions of this type on everything tied to the relations between Arab states and Israel. In this context it is important also to pay attention to the role of the Arabic media in presenting the disgusting image of Israel in the Arab world, and in presenting the Jew as a sadistic figure and as the symbol of evil on earth.<sup>79</sup> It is they who create in our story the panic with regard to the danger of the rats and it is they, in the opinion of Najīb Maḥfūz, who cause the panic concerning the forthcoming aggression of Israel. We find a similar negative attitude to the media in other works by Maḥfūz, such as *al-Ḥubb taḥt al-Maṭar* ("Love in the Rain").<sup>80</sup> Just as the narrator is attacked with fear and anxiety when he imagines, following the rumors spread in the media and from ear to ear, the giant army of rats,<sup>81</sup> which destroys and annihilates everything in its path, so were the Egyptians terrified and anxious when they imagined, according to Maḥfūz, in the years of war with Israel, the terrible and horrible army of Israel destroying and annihilating everything in its path. It is quite possible that in this allegory Maḥfūz is indicting not only the media, but also Arabic literature, and particularly poetry. Many poets, and among them some famous poets like Nizār Qabbānī (b. 1923),<sup>82</sup> joined the battle against the Jews and Zionism. What is more, in certain periods "every Arab poet in the Arab countries felt obligated to write at least one poem in which he called for support of the Arabs of Palestine".<sup>83</sup> Maḥfūz also mocks in his allegory the educational system in Egypt, which joined the war effort: when A.M. asks the tenants if the laying of traps had brought any results,

<sup>78</sup> E.g., *ibid.*, p. 4: *tabdūdubā li-amninā wa-salāmatinā; bi-rūḥ 'āliya wa-'azīma ṣādiqa*. p. 5: *lasnā waḥdanā fī al-ma'raka*.

<sup>79</sup> Moreh, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-8.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. T. Le Gassick, *op. cit.*, p. 146. On this novel see n. 30, above.

<sup>81</sup> Maḥfūz uses the word *ḥushūd* which has been used by the Arab press to describe the concentrations of Israeli troops on the borders.

<sup>82</sup> E.g., his poem *The Story of Rachel Schwartzinberg* (*Qaṣā'id*, 6th ed., Beirut, 1967, pp. 162-171). Cf. Moreh, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-9; *idem.*, *Modern Arabic Poetry 1800-1970*, Leiden, 1976, p. 275. See also Jayyusi, *op. cit.*, p. 657. In the 1980's Qabbānī realizes the failure of the Arabic literature and press in the struggle to liberate Palestine and suggests "to go on talking strike for one year with possible renewal until the end of the century" (*Imbarātūriyat al-Kalām al-'Arabī, al-Mustaqbal*, 29 May, 1982, pp. 6-7).

<sup>83</sup> Moreh, "The Israeli ...", p. 32.



one of the tenants, called ironically a “prominent educator”, hurried to answer, but the answer put in his mouth by the author makes him look like a fool.<sup>84</sup>

#### F. THE PLAGUE AND ITS CAUSES

After the first meeting (referring on the symbolized level to the period of the 1948 war!), a number of hypotheses are discussed by the tenants concerning the reasons for the plague of rats, and Najīb Maḥfūz puts into their mouths, immediately following notification of the expected attack, four possible reasons:

1) *The emptying out of residents from the canal cities*: no mention is made on the concrete level as to the reason for the emptying out of these cities, and, since nature abhors a vacuum, the reader is led to believe that the attack of rats is caused, according to one of the opinions which had some credibility with the tenants, by the vacuum created in the canal cities which were deserted by their inhabitants, a vacuum which was filled by the rats. This can be understood straightforwardly to mean the emptying out of inhabitants of the canal cities following the 1967 war, when the Israeli army sat on the banks of the canal. But if that were the case then there would be a discrepancy between the allegorical layer and the real one! The reason for the attack is discussed already after the first meeting, that is, after the first war between the Arabs and Israel! We are left with no choice but to assume that Maḥfūz, aware of the tremendously explosive nature of the stance he is expressing, has succeeded in camouflaging his opinion regarding the refugee problem: **Palestine was abandoned by her Palestinian inhabitants!** The author is making a harsh indictment against the Palestinian refugees who, or at least some of whom, fled with the establishment of the State of Israel, and thereby left behind a vacuum which enabled Israel to take over Palestine. If additional proof is necessary that the Palestinian problem is represented in the allegory, Maḥfūz provides it: in a discussion among neighbors a sensational piece of news is rumored: the Norway rats destroyed an entire village and annihilated it completely, and then the narrator imagines to himself refugees wandering aimlessly in the deserts. We have before us an allegorical presentation

<sup>84</sup> *Ibdā'*, May 1983, p. 5: *saqāṭa 'indī fa'r min fi'rānīnā al-waṭaniyya*.

of the conquering of Palestine by the Israeli army, and what is represented as the expulsion of the Palestinians from their land.

2) *The damages of the High Dam*: the Aswān Dam brought, alongside its benefits, harmful side effects like the retention of the fertile alluvial soil, which in the past had been washed away in the waters of the Nile, in a giant lake formed with the building of the dam; the danger of the salting of the waters of the Nile and damage to the fertility of the soil; the growing scarcity of fish in the Mediterranean opposite the mouth of the Nile; the flooding of territories and the transfer of inhabitants whose land was flooded; the damage to archeological sites, and some even say the exposure of Egypt to the possibility of disastrous damage to her economy in case of a military attack on the dam and the like. In other words, precisely what was intended to benefit man also harms him, and one of the damages, among many, as alluded to by the author, is the plague of rats. The analogy of the Arab-Israeli conflict can be found if we think of the superpower which aided Egypt in building it, or, more correctly, in finishing the central project in it, the Soviet Union. Maḥfūz is essentially saying that the involvement of this superpower in Egypt's problems was worthwhile and solved some of her economic problems, but at the same time did a lot of damage. It is perhaps possible to expand this and to see in it an allusion to the involvement of the superpowers altogether in Egypt (and perhaps in all the Arab world), since the building of the first stage of the Aswān Dam was completed in the beginning of the century with British aid, and before entry of the Soviets to the project there was also talk of American aid. The United States began to give aid in the early 1970's for the solution of various problems which were aroused by the activation of the High Dam.

It is difficult not to see the similarity between the High Dam and image of the giant who offers his help to the hero in Maḥfūz's one-act play,<sup>85</sup> *Yumītu wayuhyī* ("He gives death and life"), in the *Taḥt al-Miṣalla* collection.<sup>86</sup> This play belongs to the group of stories which

<sup>85</sup> Maḥfūz one-act plays. "theatrical stories" or stories in dialogue (*qīṣaṣ biwa-riyya*), as the author calls them [Rajā' al-Naqqāsh, *Aṣwāt Ghādība fī al-Adab wa-l-Naqd*, Beirut, 1970, p. 152. Cf. 'Aṭīyya, "Liḳā'...", p. 29 (= idem., *Ma'a N. M.*, p. 20); See also *al-Hilāl*, February, 1970, p. 48: the explanation of the author about this mode of writing] were not written to be produced on the stage. Nevertheless a number of them have been acted on the stage, in spite of the difficulties of interpretation which the director faces (cf. Sakkout, *op. cit.*, p. 122).

<sup>86</sup> *Taḥt al-Miṣalla*, pp. 131-167.

Maḥfūz wrote following the 1967 war, in which he reveals the ugly face of the regime, and suggests ways to change it. Like the High Dam in our story, about which a number of interpretations are possible, the character of the giant has also been interpreted in a number of ways,<sup>87</sup> but we tend to agree with S. Ballas who sees in it a symbol for the Soviet Union, who came to help rescue Egypt from her difficulties, and meanwhile struck roots in her soil, till the period of al-Sādāt.<sup>88</sup>

3) *The regime*: with its behavior towards the inhabitants, and with its unpreparedness, the regime brought on this terrible misfortune. The allusion here is clear to the regime which is socially oppressive, the regime which is unable to guarantee the security of its citizens, and which wastes the resources of the Arab world on useless wars.

4) *A punishment from God*: because of their diversion from the straight path of Islam, God has delivered a punishment to the Arabs, which is embodied in the plague of rats, like those same plagues which the Lord rained down upon the Egyptians in the Biblical stories. There is obviously a clear allusion here to the decisive importance of religion in the life of the Arab people, to such an extent that they attribute their every misfortune to the lack of fulfilment of God's commandments, and to the secularism which spread throughout Arab society. Maḥfūz wrote the story in a period in which secularism is on the retreat and religion is returning to fill a decisive role in Arab society, and according to this logic indeed the peace between Egypt and Israel comes along at the same time that the Arabs return to the straight path!

Maḥfūz notes the possibility that the tragedy of Palestine and the Arabs is due to their abandonment of religion, but he also alludes to the use of religion to incite against Israel. In order to evade an embarrassing question about the sacrifices the tenants are supposed to make in preparations for the war against the rats, and in order to dispel suspicion that these sacrifices will be substantial, A.M. relies on the Qur'ān: "God charges no soul save to its capacity",<sup>89</sup> and on the recital of a well-known proverb: "there's no point preventing one misfortune with an even greater one".<sup>90</sup> In other words, when he

<sup>87</sup> See Ballas, *op. cit.*, pp. 241; Sakkout, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

<sup>88</sup> Ballas, *loc. cit.*

<sup>89</sup> Relies on the last verse of surat al-Baqara.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibdā'*, May 1983, p. 4: *la yudfa' al-sharr bi-mā huwa asharr* (sic! — R.S.) *minhu*.

asks of the tenants that they make sacrifices and they express reservations, he does not hesitate to use the Qur'ān in order to dismiss these reservations. The words with which the narrator describes the way in which A.M. quotes from the Qur'ān<sup>91</sup> may allude to the way in which Arab rulers have made use of religion in the war against Israel, and the declaration of a holy war (Jihād) against her.<sup>92</sup> Paradoxically, it is precisely these two sayings, which were meant to calm the tenants, which allude to the possibility of a demand for unlimited sacrifices, for the verse from the Qur'ān places the decision for the extent of the sacrifices in the hands of God and not in the hands of man, and it will always be possible to claim that the sacrifices demanded are in the bounds of man's possible ability, according to God's estimation! The proverb goes much further: there is no misfortune worse than the plague of rats, for a terrible death awaits all victims of this plague, and what could be worse than death!? Thus the tenants must expect that any sacrifice may be demanded of them in order to prevent the danger of complete destruction.

The four reasons which Maḥfūz supplies, in the mouths of the tenants themselves, as possible causes of the plague of rats, present the author's own inner debate concerning the causes of the Arab-Israeli conflict, a conflict which for so many years diverted the Arabs, and Egypt at their lead, from the development of their civilization and led them instead to a series of useless wars.

The sacrifices that the tenants in our story were asked to make for the war against the rats allude to the sacrifices of economic and social well-being which the Egyptian people, and the Arabs in general, were asked to make to support the goals of war with Israel. In the story, the insufferable situation also takes its toll in the families themselves, in which fights flare up between the parents, and between the parents and the children. Thus too life in the Arab world became insufferable for the Arabs. The conflicts among the Arabs intensified, and there is no better testimony to the opinion of the author concerning this sad situation than his words in a newspaper interview less than a year before publication of the story: "The situation arouses great sorrow, deep pain and heavy, terrible depression, and from out of all this arises the question: What shall we do?"

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*: *fa-laja' ilā al-dīn*.

<sup>92</sup> On the Jihād against Israel as reflected in Arabic poetry see Moreh, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 51.

There is no point now in entering into the complicated search for the factors which brought us to this situation, and spending our anger in condemnation of these factors, when the factors which brought us to this situation are well-known to everyone, unless the purpose in this is fundamentally to turn this into a lever for correcting and learning from our mistakes, and searching for the right path. What is important is how we need to stand in the face of this situation. The Arabs all need now to rethink all their positions in order to reach a proper stance which will prevent additional mistakes in the future, for if we do not we will be threatened with a destruction whose dimensions only God knows, though we can already see opposite us in the horizon signs of the severity of this disaster".<sup>93</sup> And about a year after publication of the story he says concerning the situation in the Arab world: "We in the Arab world are living in a period of madness. I cannot imagine what is happening, and my imagination stands helpless in the face of the divisions, conflicts and arguments. There is no doubt that we are living in a period of madness". And in response to a question whether he personally has finally reached inner peace, after being recognized as the greatest of writers in the Arab world, he casts aside the satisfaction of his personal ambitions, and cries over the fate of the Arab world: "How can a man at my age and in the time and place in which I live see the Arabs as they are, follow with concern what is happening, and yet feel he has achieved inner peace? Of what peace are you speaking? May God be at our side".<sup>94</sup> It is interesting to compare this answer given by Maḥfūz with his answer to a similar question more than twenty years before: "From a personal perspective I can only thank God, but at the same time I cannot hide from you... that I am always very worried about two things: health and finances", and then the author went on to describe his health problems, and particularly his diabetes, which limits his activities as a writer, and his lack of finances, which allows him little time for literary writing.<sup>95</sup>

This change in perspective demonstrates that Maḥfūz began to be more aware of the weight of the burden placed on his shoulders to warn his people the Arabs of what awaits them if they do not change their ways. In his view the great deterioration of the Arabs began after the 1967 war, and since then the author's deep awareness of the

<sup>93</sup> *October* weekly, 25 July 1982, p. 52.

<sup>94</sup> *October* weekly, 22 April 1984, central pages.

<sup>95</sup> Dawwāra, "Ma'a Najīb Maḥfūz...", p. 23; idem, *Asharatu Uḍabā'*..., pp. 291-2.

tragedy of the Arabs has grown. His writing since that period touches more and more on the political problem in the Middle East, with him acting as the prophet who warns and chastises his people. Indeed, Maḥfūz, in an interview following the 1967 war, attributed prophetic powers to true artists: "The true artist is like an animal, he is like birds, elephants and vultures, who let out special calls when they sense an approaching danger, thus warning others of it while there is still time".<sup>96</sup> Maḥfūz is not alone in attributing prophetic powers and responsibilities to artists. We find this, for example, also in the writing of his compatriot, the poet Ṣalāḥ 'Abd al-Ṣabūr (1931-1981), who wrote one year later: "Artists and rats sense more than any other creatures an approaching danger, but while the rats, when they sense the approaching danger, throw themselves off the drowning boat into the water, artists set off alarms and shout with all their strength until they cause the ship to be saved or they drown with it".<sup>97</sup>

#### G. METAMORPHOSIS: "ḤĀMĪHĀ ḤARĀMĪHĀ"

The turning point in our story comes after the last meeting, just as after the 1973 war there was a turning point in the attitude of the Arab world towards Israel. The expert who came to inspect the home of the narrator undergoes a metamorphosis and reveals himself in the form of none other than Norway rat. This is the point at which the story receives its full significance, which matches Nabīl Rāghib's description of the characteristics of the conclusion of the short story: "The conclusion of the short story is especially significant, for this is the point at which the event receives its special significance, to which the author has been building and which he wants to clarify, and for this reason this point has been called 'the point of enlightenment', which determines the natural and logical conclusion to the story".<sup>98</sup> Thus in our story too the conclusion, despite all its oddity and absurdity, is the point at which the story receives its full significance, a significance which is natural and logical according to the sequence of events in the story up to this point. The tenants manage to recognise the image of the terrible rat

<sup>96</sup> *Mawāqif*, I (October-November, 1968), p. 75. Cf. Ballas, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

<sup>97</sup> Ṣalāḥ 'Abd al-Ṣabūr, *Ḥayātī fī al-Shi'r*, Beirut, 1969, p. 54.

<sup>98</sup> Rāghib, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-160.

only in the figure of the expert, the representative of the government, who has come to help defend them — that is, “Ḥāmīhā ḥarāmīhā” (“The guards of the city are its robbers”). And the question remains as to how we can understand the metamorphosis undergone by the expert, whose function is to battle the rats, into the form none other than a rat? There are two possible interpretations for this metamorphosis — which arouses in our imaginations, despite the very meaningful differences, the metamorphosis undergone by Gregor Samsa in *die Verwandlung* by kafka:

A. The metamorphosis takes place only in the imaginations of the narrator and his wife. The problem of the rats becomes for the tenants, like the problem of Israel for the inhabitants of the Arab states, the primary problem of their existence. The rats — Israel — are the focus of their discussions, their dreams, their nightmares, and the cause of their misery. Their attitude to the government is double-edged: the regime appears to be protecting them through its concern for their well-being. But at the same time it is the cause of their misery, for they are made wretched by the sacrifices the regime demands of them to prepare for the disaster which is imaginary and not real — the rats are never seen in their homes. Therefore when the representative of the regime comes to inspect the defence measures taken by the residents, and when this representative prevents the members of the household from eating their lunch, and he sits to have his fill alone, it is no wonder that he is pictured in their imaginations as a Norway rat himself! That is, the tenants begin to relate to the representatives of the regime as the source of the threat to their well-being, for they are eaten away with doubt that perhaps this entire expected attack of rats is only an invention of the government to demand sacrifices from them. And in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict, inhabitants of the Arab states begin to think of the governments in their countries as the primary threat to their existence. They incite them against a danger from without, while using this to their best advantage: the constant satisfaction of the governor, the ever-smiling face of A.M., the insatiable appetite of the delighted expert, all these stand out in stark contrast to the misery of the tenants — just like the lives of luxury of the rulers who demand sacrifices from the miserable and wretched inhabitants of their countries.

B. The second plausible interpretation of the metamorphosis is that

it is real in the allegory, and the expert with the face of the cat indeed turns into a Norway rat, but he is not the least bit threatening — all he does is eat one meal and then run for his life. And again the conclusion is the same: the government demands sacrifices from its citizens which far exceed that which is necessitated by the threat. There is indeed a danger, but all that this terrible Norway rat did was to dress up as an expert, penetrate into the house, eat, and run away.

According to both interpretations Najīb Maḥfūz, like Nizār Qab-bānī after the Six Day War,<sup>99</sup> points an accusing finger at the regimes in the Arab countries, who are made responsible for the sad state of the Arab world. It is they who embitter the lives of their citizens and steal their bread — just like that same expert who entered the house of the narrator-tenant in order to inspect the defence measures taken against the horrible rats, whom no one had ever seen, and sat down at their table and ate his fill of the food they had prepared for themselves, behaving all the while as though he were in his own home. Salvation will not be brought, according to Maḥfūz, by preparing for war against an imaginary enemy, or an enemy whose danger is not so great as it is presented by the rulers, but by rolling up the sleeves and dealing with the real problems of the Arab world. Less than a year before the publication of the story the author was asked how he saw the path to salvation, and he replied: “The first thing that the Arab world needs is to remove the tutelage from the Arab people, so that they will be able to free the now conquered powers inherent in them and to assume their historic responsibility by standing before the danger which faces them and leaping in the direction of the appropriate future in accordance with a vision of clear goals. This tutelage, of which the Arab people need to free themselves, is that which wastes and threatens the powers of the Arab peoples and diverts them to side paths, far from the road on which they need to travel in order to free themselves from all obstacles and to arrive at that which is necessary. Second, Arab monetary surpluses must be directed to building, renewal and development. God gave us much, and the time has come that we know how to use and take advantage of this. In our domain are

<sup>99</sup> E.g., his poem *Hawāmish 'alā Daftir al-Naksa*, 3th ed., Beirut, 1968 (1967), pp. 7-31. English translation can be found in *Modern Poetry of the Arabic World* (Translated and edited by Abdullah al-Udhari), Penguin Books, 1986, pp. 97-101. Cf. Moreh, *Modern Arabic Poetry*, p. 276; M. M. Badawi, *Critical Introduction to Modern Arabic Poetry*, Cambridge University Press, 1975, p. 222.



many resources, and we have minds and working hands, so what are we waiting for? A number of countries have succeeded right before our eyes (allusion to Israel! — R.S.) in creating their revival with far fewer means than we have. Third, we must solve our unresolved problems with Israel in an absolute realism, and follow in this area the model behavior of al-Sādāt".<sup>100</sup>

The three ways suggested by Maḥfūz to salvation and the revival of the Arab world touch, directly or indirectly, upon the behavior of the Arab regimes: it is they who impose their guardianship over the Arab peoples and tie their hands, they who do not direct money for building, renewal and development, and they who stand in the way of a solution to the problems with Israel. That is, the regimes are responsible for the sad and tragic situation of the Arab nations and individuals. The Arab defeat in 1967 opened the eyes of the Arab, both as a part of the collective, and as a man with his own wishes and desires. It shook him out of his torpor and stood him face to face with the truth. And as S. Ballas says, in evaluating the effect of the shock of the Arab defeat in 1967 on the Arab man, who awoke, betrayed and humiliated, from the initial shock, and began to wonder about his situation and try to choose for himself a way of life: "Dès lors, il s'est aperçu que la défaite a deux aspects, l'aspect national et l'aspect personnel: il s'est rendu compte que, bien avant qu'on ne l'ait envoyé à la débâcle sur le champ de bataille, il avait été vaincu dans sa vie quotidienne par ses dirigeants. La défaite l'a secoué de sa torpeur et l'a placé face à la réalité. Partant ainsi de la phase du désarroi et du malaise, il atteint le degré de la contestation".<sup>101</sup>

Maḥfūz is very sensitive to the manipulations of the authority in whose hands is the power to fashion the future of the citizens, and this issue returns repeatedly in his writings.<sup>102</sup> He is convinced that if only real leaders had been guiding Egypt since the time of Muḥammad 'Alī, the she would be today a power on the scale of Japan, for "It is the brilliant statesman who must understand the circumstances and makes an appropriate decision: till what point to enter conflicts with foreign forces and when? All this is 'if only', but in history there is no 'if only', and man does not remember history until the situation becomes a tragedy".<sup>103</sup> Maḥfūz denounces the tyranny and totalitari-

<sup>100</sup> *October* weekly, 25 July 1982, p. 52.

<sup>101</sup> Ballas, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Milson, "Religion and Revolution...", p. 458.

<sup>103</sup> Al-Ghīṭānī, *op. cit.*, p. 81. Cf. the accusation against 'Abd al-Nāṣir regime in *Amām al-'Arṣh*, Maktabat Miṣr, Cairo, n.d., pp. 195-8.

anism and the exploitation of the powers of government against citizens, and Richard K. Myers sees a certain parallel in this with the messages of Kafka's work: "Kafka censures totalitarianism, and Maḥfūz exposes tyranny. The tyranny in Maḥfūz work refers to the abuses of office which, upon becoming institutionalized, can result in a reign of terror. Kafka's chronicle of political abuse is aimed more at the slow, cumbersome, often ludicrous workings of the institution of political authority. In any case, Kafka and Maḥfūz share a sensitivity to institutionalized corruption".<sup>104</sup>

Maḥfūz negative attitude to the rulers is also reflected in his use of the craft of allegory: allegory presents an imaginary world which at first glance seems independent of the reality which it is intended to reflect. As a tendentious and didactic form it enables the author freely to express his opinion about the external reality, and when it is of a political nature it frequently takes on the characteristics of satire, distorting certain phenomena in order to point out their weaknesses. And indeed Maḥfūz makes extensive use in this story of ironical and sarcastic comments, and especially about A.M.<sup>105</sup> In this he follows in the path of other political allegories in world literature, which "tend to develop a strongly ironic tone, resulting from the fact that the allegorist is pretending to talk about one series of incidents when he is actually talking about another. Hence there is a close connection between historical or political allegory and a satire, a connection marked in Spenser's *Mother Hubbard's (sic) Tale (Prosopopoeia)*, which uses a beast-fable to satirize a contemporary political situation: in Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*, which uses an Old Testament story for the same purpose; in Swift's *Tale of a Tub*, and elsewhere".<sup>106</sup>

#### H. CONCLUSION

*Al-Fa'r al-Nurwījī* is a desperate cry to leave behind the path of war and to deal with the real problems of the Arab world. This story, as noted above, was published after the signing of the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, but it can be seen as the Egyptian author's call for the maintenance and development of this peace

<sup>104</sup> Myers, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

<sup>105</sup> See nn. 69-72, above.

<sup>106</sup> A. Preminger (ed.), *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, Princeton University Press, 1974, p. 12.

which still remained a cold peace, and as a call for a general peace between the Arabs and Israel. We can add another layer to the meaning of the name of the story: Norway is in the far north, and the danger that a rat coming from there should threaten the inhabitants of Egypt, which is so far from Norway, is totally illogical. What is more, it is unthinkable that an animal used to living in a northern climate should migrate south to the hot and burning Egypt, and threaten the lives of people and cats who are used to these difficult conditions! Equally illogical is the aggression of Israel against the homes of the Arabs, without any provocation. What is more, the rat, as everyone knows, is not known as a scary animal which threatens others, but rather the opposite, as a cowardly animal, not harmful, who fears for its own life!

Maḥfūz's unequivocal position in favor of peace is not found only in this story. We find it outlined, though much less sharply, also in his book *Amām al-'Arsh* ("In Front of the Throne") (1983), which was published around the same time as this story. This book includes 64 chapters, in which the rulers of Egypt over the last five thousand years, till al-Sādāt, stand on trial, and on the last page the author lets al-Sādāt summarize his opinion by declaring that the path of Egypt "must be civilization and peace".<sup>107</sup> What is more, the chapter which describes the appearance and trial of al-Sādāt presents him as one of the greater heroes of Egypt of all times, and Akhenaton, one of the positive heroes of the book who represents the striving for peace, says to al-Sādāt the following words: "I bless you as a seeker of peace, and I am not surprised that your enemies blame you of treason (for signing the peace treaty — R.S.). They made similar accusations against me for the same reason".<sup>108</sup> Maḥfūz has no hesitations regarding the peace with Israel: "I am among the supporters of peace and those who preach in its favor. Peace is one of the names of the Lord may He be blessed. Peace is a goal and purpose, and it is a gift from God which we must use as a guiding light."<sup>109</sup>

Peace is urgently needed in the Arab world. Moreover, time is working against the Arabs. Maḥfūz hints in our story that there is not much time left to remedy the situation: when the tenants await the attack of rats some of them say: "Not much time is left".<sup>100</sup> The

<sup>107</sup> *Amām al-'Arsh*, p. 207.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

<sup>109</sup> *October* weekly, 25 April 1982, p. 79.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibdā'*, May 1983, p. 5: *lam yabqa min al-ḡaman illā aqalluhū*.

disaster will take place in a very short while, and if it is to be prevented the appropriate steps must be taken immediately. It is hard not to see the relation between this and Maḥfūz's work *al-Bāqī min al-Zaman Sā'a* ("There's Only One Hour Left"), which was published at the end of 1982, or half a year before the publication of this story. In this work, whose plot unfolds over a period of forty years, Maḥfūz presents us with a history of the Egyptian people through the events experienced by a Cairo middle-class family, the family of Saniyya al-Mahdī, the central figure in the work. Around this woman rotate the lives of the family and the lives of the other characters in the work, such as her husband, her children and grandchildren. The meetings between members of the family give us a peek at the trends and opinions in Egyptian society in response to various events in Egypt. The plot begins as Saniyya al-Mahdī is at her peak at the time of the monarchist regime in the early 1930's, and through what happens to her and her family we are witnesses to central events and occurrences like the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936, the struggle between the Wafd and the king, the Arab defeat in 1948, cancellation of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty, the 1952 revolution and the reign of 'Abd al-Nāṣir, nationalization of the canal, the war in Yemen, the Six Day War, and the period of al-Sādāt: the Yom Kippur War till the days of Camp David and the peace process with Israel.

Both the name of the book and its content allude to the author's idea that time is quickly running out, the opportunity for peace must not be missed, more resources should not be wasted on war, thereby neglecting the future and falling behind the caravan of civilization. Like in our story, in this book too the symbolic-allegorical foundation is obvious: the house of Saniyya, like the apartment building in our story (and the bording house and its tenants in *Mīrāmār*),<sup>111</sup> symbolizes Egypt and her fate. Saniyya al-Mahdī, despite all the tragic events which her family undergoes, yearns for the day when she will be able to renovate the old house and buy new furniture, and turn the garden encompassing in into a paradise on earth — but the wars and the defeats, and the tragic events undergone by her family, still make this impossible. The book concludes, as noted above, in the days of the peace process, a peace which the author hopes will save Egypt from its recurring destruction. The house — Egypt — needs renovation and a fundamental overhaul to defend against the

<sup>111</sup> *Mīrāmār*, Dār Miṣr, Cairo, 1967. On this novel see Ballas, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-7.

rains and thunder — the wars. The obstacles are many, but the promising future can be seen in the horizon, as becomes clear from the dialogues in the concluding section of the book:

... After the meal the rain intensified. The heavens trembled and the black clouds poured out torrential rain ...

— “What do your dreams tell lately?” ...

— “I am day-dreaming now”, she (Saniyya — R.S.) said indifferently ...

Saniyya swallowed her last bit of coffee from her small cup, and then she called Um Saʿīd, gave her the cup and said:

— “Read it and tell me what it says” ...

The woman brought the cup close to her dull eyes, studied it for quite a while, and said, with the same confidence with which she had spoken for more than fifty years:

— “You have in front of you a path which is not short, it has obstacles, but look (showing the cup to Saniyya), secure shores await you there”.

The thunder intensified and the small cup almost fell from the hands of the old lady. Muḥammad laughed and asked:

— “When, Um Saʿīd, will the obstacles disappear?”

Saniyya al-Mahdī lifted her gaze to somewhere between the heavens and the garden, and she volunteered an answer:

— “When the thunder ceases”.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>112</sup> *Al-Bāqī min al-Zaman Sāʿa*, Maktabat Miṣr, Cairo, n.d., pp. 198-9.

## NOTES ON THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF MESOPOTAMIA AND NORTHERN SYRIA\*

BY

RAN ZADOK

### Introduction

This paper deals with the historical geography of certain regions in Babylonia, Jezireh and northern Syria between 1000 and 400 B.C. when the Arameans were the dominant ethnic group there. The section on Babylonia contains additional material to that of a former article of mine (*W/O* 16, 1985, pp. 19-79).

### A. Babylonia

1. **Sippar and its region:** Sippar had a quay (*kāru*<sup>1</sup>) and a city wall with a main gate.<sup>2</sup> The temple of the Sun-god there (*Ebabbarra*, *bīt-Šamaš*,<sup>3</sup> *bīt-Bēlet-Sippar*<sup>4</sup>) had a large gate.<sup>5</sup> This temple was very

\* Abbreviations as in A.L. Oppenheim *et al.*, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago-Glückstadt, 1956-) and W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* 1-3 (Wiesbaden 1965-81), except for the following: *ALS* = I. Finkelstein, *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement* (Jerusalem 1988); *ARAB* = D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* 1-2 (Chicago 1926-27); *ARET* = *Archivi Reali di Ebla*; *ARI* = A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions* 1-2 (Wiesbaden 1972-75); *Ausz.* = G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer* (Leipzig 1880); *Dillard, Diss.* = R.B. Dillard, *Neo-Babylonian Texts from the John Frederick Lewis Collection of the Free Library of Philadelphia* (Dissertation, Dropsie Univ., 1975); *Ebla 1975-85* = L. Cagni (ed.), *Ebla 1975-1985: dieci anni di studi linguistici e filologici* (Naples 1987); *EER* = P. Matthiae, *Ebla: An Empire Rediscovered* (London 1980; Italian ed. 1977); *HMPA* = L. Dillemann, *Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents* (Paris 1962); *Prov.* = E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (Leipzig 1921); *RPA* = *Recherches au pays d'Aštata, Emar*; *SEB.* = *Studi Eblaiti*. — The references for most of the toponyms mentioned in section A below are found in *RGTC* 8. The months in Roman figures are the Babylonian ones.

<sup>1</sup> E.g., *CT* 55, 153, 2; *Dar.* 111, 10; 433, 5; *Nbn.* 234, 8; 690, 6; *VS* 3, 208, 5.

<sup>2</sup> C.F. Lehmann[-Haupt], *Šamaššumukin, König von Babylonien 668-648 v. Cbr., In-schriftliches Material...* (Leipzig 1892), Pl. 3, 23f., and *ABL* 1404, 6 resp.

<sup>3</sup> *RGTC* 8, p. 270f. with refs. and I. Holt, *AJSL* 27 (1911), p. 213; *RCT* 6, 3 resp.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., *Nbn.* 213, 2f.

<sup>5</sup> *Nbn.* 48, 1f.: *KÁ.GAL MAḤ šá É dGAŠAN sip-par<sup>ki</sup>*.

active in the economic life of the whole region and possessed much landed property there (almost in every place which is mentioned in the Sippar documentation). *Hallatu* probably designated a certain type of temple property.<sup>6</sup> Deities of several other northern Babylonian towns (Adad and Šala of Zabban, as well as *INNIN* *giTUK* and Nanâ of Dūr-Kurigalzu) were worshipped in Sippar. The (temple of the) deity Amurru possessed property in *Raqqat-Šamaš* according to *Nbn.* 897 and 1133. A large treasure house (*bīt niširti rabû*<sup>7</sup>) was situated on the Euphrates. It was royal property (*nidinti šarri*, *Nbn.* 560, 3f.) like the storehouse<sup>8</sup> and possibly the palace (*É.GAL*, CT 56, 423, 7).

Homonym of *Zaṣannu* is OB URU<sup>ki</sup> *Za-ṣa-nu-um<sup>ki</sup>*, which is mentioned in an OB letter found at Kish. The letter is from the reign of Sin-muballiṭ who controlled Sippar.<sup>9</sup> It was sent by Sin-erībam to Tutu-nišu. The latter was a high-ranking functionary. However, Sippar is never mentioned in the 'archive' to which the letter belongs. Therefore there is no reason to identify N/LB *Zaṣannu* with its OB homonym. *Halbu*/*Halab* was possibly identical with MB *Hi-il-PI<sup>ki</sup>* (in an inscription from Sippar/Abū-Ḥabba<sup>10</sup>). *garim Til(DU<sup>6</sup>?) - qa-qu-<sup>7</sup>ul-lu<sup>7</sup>* is to be restored in *Cyr.* 73, 4. *Ālu-ša-Bēlti-iqbi* was perhaps identical with *Ḥuṣṣēti-<sup>17</sup>Hi-il-tū* (*Cyr.* 158, 5), *Nāru-ša-bīt-Adad* and *Nār-šupî* might have flowed in the Sippar region. *Šibtu-ša-šakin-māti*, which is recorded in 628/7 B.C., was probably an ephemeral settlement. The document was written by the scribe of the *šakin-māti* official and the first witness was the estate's manager (*rab-ālāni*) of the same official. It is noteworthy that *Nāru-ša-Gubarru* bore this name as late as 480/79 B.C., i.e. several decades after Gubarru was not in office (another Gubarru was governor of Babylonia several decades later). An individual designated as *Ḥu-um-ba-a-a* appears in a document which was issued at Sippar. His name may be a gentilic of \**Humba* < \**Hubba* (provided the reading is not *Ḥu-um-ma-a-a*<sup>11</sup>), perhaps the same settlement as OB *Ḥu-ba<sup>ki</sup>*, which is to be sought near Sippar.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>6</sup> KIRI<sup>6</sup> *ḥal-la-a-ta šá UTU* (*VS* 6, 25, 1f.); *DURUN* (?) *ḥi-il-le-tu<sup>4</sup>* (*Camb.* 58, 2); see D. Cocquerillat, *WO* 7 (1973/4), pp. 130f.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., *Nbn.* 457, 4; 506, 6f.; 540, 5; 560, 3f.; 649, 3f.; 686, 1f.

<sup>8</sup> E.g., *Nbn.* 612, 2; 730, 8.

<sup>9</sup> See J.R. Kupper, *RA* 53 (1959), pp. 20f.; R. Harris, *Ancient Sippar* (Istanbul 1975), p. 5f.

<sup>10</sup> *RGTC* 5, p. 125.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *RGTC* 8, p. 167.

<sup>12</sup> *RGTC* 3, p. 99.

The identity of \**Humba* with *Hum-ba* (*Nbn.* 931, 11) cannot be established as the latter can also be read *Gum/Lum-ba/ma* and has prosopographical ties (indeed very few) with Babylon. The undated OB letter *AbB* 10, 47 was possibly sent from *Bāš*, as the greeting formula has *Bēl-šarbi* (mentioned after *Šamaš* and *Marduk*).

The location of *Du/Gub-ba-al<sup>ki</sup>* (*RGTC* 8, p. 120) or *Du/Gub-bu-l[u(?)]* (*CT* 55, 497, 2) is not known. It is recorded in documents which are said to be found at Sippar. The toponym is at least linguistically related (with the reading *Gub-*) to *Gublu/Byblos*; its governor (*\*NAM*) had a Babylonian name. For hypothetical connections between Sippar and Phoenicia(ns) cf. *RGTC* 8, pp. 206.426.

Cutha had a market gate (*KÁ.GAL KI.LAM*) according to *Camb.* 432, 1f.

2. **The region of Babylon:** The *mušannītu*-dam of Bēl was probably located near *Bēl-iqbi*. — One of the gates of *Šahrīn* 'the settlement of Nabû' was named after Nabû (*Dar.* 323.325), who had property in the town. A quay was also found there. The 'fifty' (*ḥanšū*)-plot of *Baḫē* was situated at the 'mouth' of the meadow of *Litamu* and extended from the bank of the Euphrates to *Bīt-bēri* 2 (*TCL* 12, 11, 1f.). Each of the meadows *Litamu* and *Til-Bēltu* had a mouth whereas *Ḥaširatu* had several ones.<sup>13</sup> *Ḥuṣṣēti* 1 was probably in the region of Babylon. The document which mentions *Bīt-Uqūpi* was issued at *Bīt-bārē*. *Šabilu* was probably not far from Babylon (= *Ālu-ša-Bēl?*). The same applies to *\*ru A-man-nu<sup>ki</sup>?* in A.H. Sayce, *BOR* 4 (1889), p. 4: 77, 1, an Egibi document mentioning a female slave of Esaggila. — *Bīt-ḥa-aḫ-ḫu-ru* (southeast of Babylon; without the determinative *URU*) is also mentioned in Th.G. Pinches, *Peek*, 9, 2. It was situated alongside the corn field of Uraš. The Uraš Gate was indeed situated in the southeastern section of the wall of Babylon. *Ap-pa-ak* is less likely a late form of Ur III *A-pi-ak*.<sup>14</sup>

3. **The Kish region:** As expected, fields which were the property of Šababa are frequently mentioned in documents from Kish.<sup>15</sup> A *šakin-ṭēmi* of Kish is recorded in *OECT* 10, 48, 11; 50, 8. Bēlet (= Ištar)-Arbail was worshipped at Kish (or in its region) according

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *RGTC* 8, p. xxvii, n. 12.

<sup>14</sup> *RGTC* 2, pp. 12f. According to F.R. Kraus (*ZA* 51, 1956, pp. 60.62) *Apiak* was west of Marad between Nahr Hindiye and the Euphrates of Ḥilla, i.e. too far southwest of Babylon.

<sup>15</sup> *OECT* 10, 49, 6; 191, 2; 203, 5; 269, 1f.



to OECT 10, 115 (540/39 B.C.). *Ālu-* and *Ḥuṣṣēti-ša-Aḫi-le(ya)* possibly refer to one and the same settlement. — *Bīt-bārī*, *-Sîn-māgir* and *Ḥat-ru* are mentioned in documents from Kish (OECT 10, 140, 12; 113 r.6 and 184, 14 resp.). *Arad-ekallā* (*urru.1ùIR-É.GAL-a*) is recorded in a document which was issued at *Ḥursag-kamma* (OECT 10, 168, 2). The silt sediment on the bed of *Nār-Ba/Ma-ga-ad-du* (to Aram. *mgd* 'choice fruit'?) is reported in OECT 10, 152, 20. — *Bāb-Nār-Gu-ga(?)*-[*li?*] is mentioned in OECT 10, 312, 6 (cf. 4?).

4. **The Nippur region:** For *Bīt-mār-rubē* (RGTC 8, p. 425, top) cp. *urTUR.NUN.NA* (APN, p. 262a) and *é-tur-nun-na*, the name of the Sîn Temple at Seleucid Uruk.<sup>16</sup> — *Bīt-ur.SAG* was situated in the Nippur region at the end of the second millennium B.C. (cf. A.K. Grayson, *TCS* 5, p. 133 *ad* i, 14).

5. **The Uruk region:** A Nabû temple was found at Uruk as well (YOS 6, 43, 2; 554/3 B.C.). — Another example of *ummu* 'boundary stone, marker' (see F.M. Fales, *Aramaic Epigraphs...*, Rome 1986, p. 255) is *AMA A.ŠÀ šá 17Takkiru*.<sup>17</sup> *Tamerat-Nār Innin* was situated on the homonymous canal. — *Bal-nam-ḫé* occurs as an anthroponym in CTN 3, 99, iii, 8 (NA, time of Sargon). He probably was of Babylonian extraction, like *m.urruDe-ra-a-a* (*ibid.*, iii, 16), *Bābilayya* (*ibid.* iii, 21.26) and *Akkadayya* (*ibid.* iv, 1) who belonged to the same professional group. — *urruIa-a-ba-TAM-ru*<sup>18</sup> (prob. WSem.<sup>19</sup>) was perhaps situated not far from Uruk as its mayor (*urNAM*), Marduk-šuma-ušur, rented his boat to Eanna according to a document which was issued at Uruk in 536/5 B.C. *Bāb-Nār-Šup(?)*-*ra-a-ni*<sup>20</sup> (WSem.<sup>21</sup>) was possibly located in the Uruk region on prosopographical grounds. The same applies to *E-lam-mu*, which was presumably a colony of people from *Elumu* (CVC signs are indifferent to vowel quality) near Carchemish. *E-lam-mu* is mentioned in 549/8-548/7 B.C.<sup>22</sup> A private loan in silver (all the individuals mentioned bore Babylonian names;

<sup>16</sup> Cf. CT 24, 18, 1.6; 30, 4; 25, 32, 3; and A. Falkenstein, *Topographie von Uruk, I. Teil: Uruk zur Seleukidenzeit* (Leipzig 1941), pp. 17, n. 3; 52.

<sup>17</sup> TCL 12, 38, 9 (not listed in *AHW.*, p. 1416f., s.v. *ummu*(m) I).

<sup>18</sup> G. Frame, *OrAnt* 25 (1986), p. 48: 6, 3f.

<sup>19</sup> Poss. a verbal sentence name consisting of (y)qtl of W/Y-H-B 'give' and a theophorous element *TAM-ru* (cf. R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia*, Jerusalem 1978, p. 68).

<sup>20</sup> G. Frame, *OrAnt* 25 (1986), p. 43: 1, 12.

<sup>21</sup> Š-P-R 'be nice, fair, beautiful' plus an adjectival *-ān* (cf. R. Zadok, *Sources for the History of the Jews in Babylonia*, Jerusalem 1979, p. 14)?

<sup>22</sup> Dillard, *Diss.*: FLP 1574, 19; 1578, 13; 1582, 15; 1607, 17.

OECT 10, 39) was issued at Carchemish (<sup>ur</sup>Gal-ga-mi<sup>š</sup>) on 23.XI.605/604 B.C., a short time after the famous battle there.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, it is most probable that the city itself, and not a colony of Carchemishites in Babylonia, is mentioned here.<sup>24</sup> *Til-laḫrāti* and *Bābu-rabū-ša-Nār-kuzbi* are both described as *kalē šarri* (the term appears also in OECT 10, 240, 3, undated)<sup>25</sup> in 585/4<sup>26</sup> and 560/59 respectively.<sup>27</sup> Nādin, son of Šá-ab/p-b/pu-ú (*Šab/p-b/pu-ú*), acted as witness in both places.

6. **Southeast Babylonia:** *Būrāti* (<sup>ur</sup>AMAR<sup>meš</sup>) was the place of issue of a document from 598/7 B.C.<sup>28</sup>

7. **Chaldean territories**<sup>29</sup>: *Bīt-Da-ku-ru* occurs after *Bīt-<sup>m</sup>Ki-di-nu* (poss. just an estate) in the undated document BRM 1, 93 (3f.). *Dūru-ša-Ba/Ma-la-<sup>2</sup>a* was also situated on *Nāru-ša-Balassu* in the region of <sup>ur</sup>Kal-du (OECT 10, 400, 2). *Nār-<sup>kur</sup>Bīt-Dakūru* is recorded in OECT 10, 5, 3 (651/0 B.C.). There is an Assyrian relief which possibly depicts captured Chaldeans from *Ša-aḫ-ri-na*.<sup>30</sup> *Guṣumānu* is thought to be identical with Ur III *Guṣuma* (cf. RGTC 2, p. 34). *Ba-qa* (?! edition NA)-*a-nu* is possibly to be read in V. Donbaz and A.K. Grayson, *Royal Inscriptions on Clay Cones from Assur now in Istanbul* (Toronto 1984), p. 48: 217, 13 (mentioned after Borsippa; inscription of Shalmaneser III).

A NB letter concerning <sup>ur</sup>Šar-ri-a-ba-nu and *Nār-šarri* was found at Calah.<sup>31</sup> *Ab|mānu* (either near *Bīt-rē<sup>2</sup>ē* of Bīt-Awkānu or near a homonym thereof) is to be sought in south Babylonia (poss. in southeastern Babylonia near *Nār-Ab|māni*). *Ab|mānu* was no more than five days' journey from Uruk. *Na-gar-a-a* (1 ×) may be — if it is not based on a defective spelling of *naggāru* 'carpenter' — a gentilic of *Nagar*. The latter, which was situated somewhere on the Lower

<sup>23</sup> Cf. D.J. Wiseman, *Nebuchadnezzar and Babylon* (Oxford 1983), p. 16 (June-July 605/4 if not January 605/4).

<sup>24</sup> Contrast J. Landergott, *ArOr* 55 (1987), p. 292.

<sup>25</sup> Landergott (*ibid.*, p. 293) connects it with Akk. *kalē* 'priests'.

<sup>26</sup> I. Spar, *Studies in Neo-Babylonian Economic and Legal Texts* (Dissertation, Univ. of Minnesota 1972), p. 154: 13.

<sup>27</sup> *GC* 2, 76.

<sup>28</sup> E.V. Leichty *apud* Dillard, *Diss.*, p. 40 *ad* FLP 1523, 24 (mentions one Anu anthroponym and the hitherto unrecorded theophorous element *Ha-šir* of *-mudam-miq* [*SIG<sup>2</sup>i<sup>9</sup>*]).

<sup>29</sup> See J.A. Brinkman, *Sumer* 41 (1985), p. 111.

<sup>30</sup> See J.E. Reade *apud* O.W. Muscarella, *Ladders to Heaven* (Toronto 1982), p. 128: 85.

<sup>31</sup> D.J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 15 (1953), p. 140 & Pl. 11: ND 3419.

Habur, is mentioned as early as the third millennium B.C. in pre-Sargonic and Sargonic sources (*Nagar<sup>ki</sup>*, *RGTC* 1, p. 125), as well as in the Ebla documentation (*Na-gàr<sup>ki</sup>*).<sup>32</sup> Later on, it recurs in OB (*NAGAR<sup>ki</sup>*, *RGTC* 3, p. 173), especially in the Mari archives (*Na-gàr/ga-ar<sup>ki</sup>*, *ibid.*; cf. *KĀ Na-g[a-a]r<sup>ki</sup>*, *ARMT* 21, 426, 8). If my assumption is correct and no homonym is involved, then the name might have survived in the first millenium B.C. as well, and the gentilic may be the name of a Nagarites' colony in Bīt-Awkānu. — A homonym of *Ṭūrānu* is *Ṭūrān* near medieval Mada'in (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Beirut 1977, *s.v.*).

For *Hur-gal-le-e-a* cp. perhaps *ḫar-gal-le-e* in a MB document from Nippur (*PBS* 2/2, 66, 3; cf. *AHW.*, p. 325a?).

8. **Aramean tribes:** The troops of *Ia-a-qí-ri*, the sheikh (*nasīku*)<sup>33</sup> of an unknown tribe, might have been connected with Dilbat (and Borsippa?) sometime in the Sargonid period when *uruRu-ú<sup>7</sup>-[a]*<sup>34</sup> is also recorded.

## B. Upper Mesopotamia

1. **The region of Takrīt:** *Taḫal* (*Taḫ-URU*) is mentioned together with *Kār-Šamaš* (*ABL* 207, 9; NA). If one assumes that *Kār-Šamaš* is identical with the homonymous OB settlement which was located between *Mankisum* and *Kār-Kakkulatim*, c. 20-25 km above the confluence of the 'Uzēm into the Tigris,<sup>35</sup> then *Taḫal* can be identical with *Taḫal*. The latter belonged to *Bēt-Garmāyā* according to a Syriac source.<sup>36</sup> M. Morony<sup>37</sup> locates early Islamic *Taḫal* near the northwestern corner of Jabal Ḥamrīn (north of Takrīt and east of the Tigris).

2. **Sūḫu** included *Ḥindānu* in Tiglath-Pileser I's time (1114-1076 B.C.; *RGTC* 5, p. 127). *Ḥindānu* had been independent before it was conquered by the Assyrians in 894/3 B.C. (*ARI* 2, 434 in fine). *Ḥindānu* was the only political entity which delivered dromedaries as

<sup>32</sup> See A. Archi in P. Fronzaroli (ed.), *Studies on the Language of Ebla* (Florence 1984), pp. 229ff. (esp. 234); E. Sollberger, *ARET* 8, p. 47, *s.v.*

<sup>33</sup> H.W.F. Saggs, *Iraq* 27 (1965), p. 30 & Pl. 7 after p. 32: ND 2681 (= NL 83), 13.

<sup>34</sup> J.A. Brinkman and D.A. Kennedy, *JCS* 38 (1986), p. 104: N. 7 (BM 82563).

<sup>35</sup> See W.W. Hallo, *JCS* 18 (1964), p. 68; W. Röllig, *RLA* 5, p. 454.

<sup>36</sup> See G. Hoffmann, *Ausg.*, p. 27, n. 2181.

<sup>37</sup> *Iraq* 20 (1982), p. 11, map.

a tribute for Tukulti-Ninurta II (884/3 B.C.). Only *Ḥindānu* and the neighbouring Laqean town of *Sirqu* also delivered myrrh then (*ARI* 2, 472-3). *Ḥindānu* profited from its location on the commercial route with South Arabia (poss. via Palmyra and Wadi 'Ali). This trade, which presumably started at the beginning of the first millennium B.C., was perhaps the reason why *Ḥindānu* was separated from *Sūḥu*.

3. **Laqē:** OB *Ni-ḥa-ad*, *Ni-ḥa-di-im*, *Ni-ḥa-du-ú<sup>ki</sup>* and *Ni-ḥa-di-i<sup>ki</sup>* (settlement and tribe; the last two forms are gentilics) might have been located near *Terqa* and *Saggaratum*.<sup>38</sup> Is the nisbe NA *Ni-iḥ-da-a-a*<sup>39</sup> (prob. time of Sargon) and *Ni(Sa?)-ḥu-ud-a-a*<sup>40</sup> (710/09 B.C.) a survival thereof? It is doubtful whether it has anything to do with *Nu-ḥa-du*, a synonym of Subartu in the lexical list *malku* = *šarru* (A. Draffkorn Kilmer, *JAOIS* 83, 1963, p. 428: 226).

4. **The northern Jezireh:** The Arameans in the Habur Triangle and near Harran seem to have avoided the old administrative centres which were most probably fortified.<sup>41</sup> The process of the Israelite settlement in Canaan has good parallels for this phenomenon: many Canaanite fortified towns, among which the old Egyptian administrative centre of Beth-Shean, were conquered by the Israelites not before the period of the United Monarchy.<sup>42</sup>

In the Balīḥ Valley and its surroundings there were several political entities, e.g., *Til-Abnā* which may be mentioned as early as the OB period in the Mari documentation.<sup>43</sup> It is questionable whether Gi-am-mu, who ruled over several settlements on the Balīḥ, was a Semite. At any rate, the region on the Balīḥ seems to have been fully Aramaicized during the early Sargonid period (cf. *CCENA*, pp. 99ff. 105ff. and *pass.*). NA *Šaḥ-la-la* was possibly the main town of Giammu before he was executed by Shalmaneser III in 858 B.C. This town was tentatively localized by E. Forrer<sup>44</sup> in modern Tall Ṣolola and may be identical with OB (18th century B.C.) *Ši-iḥ-la-lam* (*ARM* 10, 178, 9; accus.; *CVC* signs like *SAḪ* are indifferent to

<sup>38</sup> See M. Birot, *Syr.* 35 (1958), p. 22; J.-R. Kupper, *Nomades*, p. 20, n. 2; B. Lafont, *ARMT* 23, p. 325.

<sup>39</sup> B. Parker, *Iraq* 23 (1961), pp. 22f. & Pl. 11: ND 2386+, ii, 9.

<sup>40</sup> *ADD* 416 = *AR* 438,17 = S. Parpola, *Assur* 2/5 (1979), p. 64.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. J.E. Reade, *Iraq* 37 (1975), p. 139.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *ALS*, pp. 352f.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. D. Soubeyran, *ARMT* 23, pp. 437f. *ad* 508, 3.

<sup>44</sup> *Prov.*, pp. 24f.; cf. W.W. Hallo, *JCS* 18 (1964), p. 78, n. 18; K. Kessler, *TAVO Beih.* B/26, p. 201.

vowel quality) on the one hand and with *S'lm* of the Arsham correspondence (5th century B.C.) on the other.<sup>45</sup> The OB town was conquered by the king of *Aparḫa*. The latter is to be sought somewhere in the northwestern Jezireh if to rely on several rather vague indications in the correspondence from OB Mari.<sup>46</sup> Regarding *S'lm* (poss. < \**S'll* with interchange of two liquids/nasals by progressive dissimilation), it was a stage on the itinerary of Satrap Arsham's official who proceeded from northeastern Babylonia (*L'r* → *rʒhn*) to Assyria proper (*'rbl* → *Hlš* (?)) and the Upper Tigris Valley (*Mtlbš*) to *S'lm* before reaching Damascus. In addition, the manager of Arsham's estates at *S'lm* (or near it) was distinct from the one who administered the satrap's possessions in Assyria and the Upper Tigris Valley.<sup>47</sup>

NA *Im-mir-i-na* was possibly identical with *'mryn* (Ἡμέριον, cf. below). The former is mentioned in the so-called "Harran Census" (*CCENA* 14, ii, 9f., cf. 4; 13, B, 8). It was probably located somewhere within the zone of the Harran cultic influence if to judge from the name of its suburb *URU.ŠE* *Te-er* reflecting the lunar cult. The "Census" does not indicate to which Upper Mesopotamian district *Immirīna* belonged, but from a recently published inscription of Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.), it is certain that *Im-me-ri-na* was the residence of *Giri-Dādi* (*Gi-ri-ŠKUR*) of Ašša. The latter extended on the eastern bank of the Euphrates and probably bordered on Kummuh.<sup>48</sup> This may accord well with what is known about *'mryn*/Ἡμέριον. *'mryn* was the seat of a Monophysite bishop who participated in the second council of Chalcedon in 518 C.E. according

<sup>45</sup> G.R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Abridged and revised ed., Oxford 1957), 6, 2; re-edited by B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt: 1. Letters* (Jerusalem 1986), pp. 114f.: A 6.9.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. G. Dossin, *SD* 2, pp. 116f.

<sup>47</sup> *Bgrpn* was in *S'lm* whereas *'pstbr* was in *'rbl*, *Hl'š* (?) (or *Hl'h* < NA *Ḥalahḫu* near Nineveh?) and *Mtlbš*. The last name reminds one of Μελαβασίων ὄρους, which extended on both banks of the Upper Tigris and possibly included the northeastern corner of Ṭūr 'Abdīn (see L. Dillemann, *HMPA*, pp. 34f. with a Kurdish etymology). If the first component of the Aramaic form represents Akk. *māt*- 'country' then it can be compared with NA *Mazamua* < *Māt Zamua* (*AOAT* 6, pp. 381f.) and Bibl. *Māgōg* where the *-t* is omitted. But how did *-ā-* shift to *-ē-*? Assuming that the second component was Akk. *Lābāši* (PN), then it is conceivable that the stress (as is usual in Aram.) was on the last syllable and therefore *-ā-* of the first syllable has been shortened. However, the long chronological gap between the two forms makes the identification very doubtful.

<sup>48</sup> M. Mahmud and J. Black, *Sumer* 44 (1985-86), pp. 140f. 145, 52.r.I.

to a Syriac source. H.G. Kleyn<sup>49</sup> identified 'mwr̄yn with 'mryn ('Emr̄in,<sup>50</sup> *Emris* [cp. *Nisibis* for *Nāsībīn*]; Emerios/'Hm̄ēriou/'Ihm̄ēria/Himeria) which is often mentioned in acts of ecclesiastic councils and is listed once after Markoupolis and between Anastasia and Kirkesia. 'Hm̄ēriou (gen. of 'Hm̄ēriou or 'Hm̄ērios) of Osrhoene is mentioned by Procopius of Caesarea after Europos/Carchmish.<sup>51</sup> From his description it seems clear that 'Hm̄ēriou/s was situated not far from the Euphrates as it was included in 'Eup̄r̄aṭṭh̄s̄īa like Barbalissus, Neo-caesarea and Gaboulon. Consequently, M. Streck<sup>52</sup> placed 'Hm̄ēriou (etc.) near the Euphrates and not far from Carchemish/Europos, but he did not attempt at a more specific localization. He was followed by L. Dillemann.<sup>53</sup> R. Dussaud<sup>54</sup> proposed to locate 'Hm̄ēriou in the ruins of "Imare" south of Mardin, but this is unlikely as it is far away from the Euphrates.

𐤌𐤍𐤔𐤉𐤒𐤌𐤍 was the abode of a witness who is mentioned in a Kuyunjik document from 741/0 B.C. (*ADD* 1156 r. 7). There is no telling where Še/ir̄ina was situated (cf. just below), but it can be the forerunner of Syr. *Šerrīn* (the doubling of consonants is often not indicated in NA). The latter refers to a settlement near Edessa/Urfa in the Byzantine period,<sup>55</sup> provided it is not just a homonym of Še/ir̄ina. *Šerrīn* is identical with the modern village of Serrin southeast of Urfa. Four out of the seven individuals occurring in the above-mentioned document bore names and/or patronyms with *Šin*/*Šē*, an indication that would support a localization in the Harran-Edessa region. The document is about a sale of a field in 𐤌𐤍𐤔𐤉𐤒𐤌𐤍 *Me-ṣe-e*. 𐤌𐤍𐤔𐤉𐤒𐤌𐤍 *Me-ṣe-e* occurs also in a document which was found at Tall Halaf (Gozan; *AfO* Beih. 6, 35, 11) and may be dated sometime between 810 and 783 B.C. The geographical horizon of the Gozan documents

<sup>49</sup> *Festbundel aan Prof. M.J. de Goeje* (Leiden 1891), pp. 65f.: 5; cf. S.G.F. Perry, *Secunda Synodus Ephesia* (Oxford 1875), pp. 11.13; see E. Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Louvain 1951), pp. 5.53; R. Payne Smith and J.P. Margoliouth, *Supplement to the Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford 1927), pp. 22b.23a.

<sup>50</sup> The vocalization 'Am̄r̄in in Kleyn, *op.cit.* (p. 67) is unfounded.

<sup>51</sup> *Buildings* (ed. H.B. Dewing and G. Downey, Loeb Classical Lib., Cambridge, Mass. 1940), 2, ix, 10.

<sup>52</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, Hallbbd. 15, col. 232.

<sup>53</sup> *HMPA*, p. 107.

<sup>54</sup> *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris 1927), p. 500, n. 1.

<sup>55</sup> W. Wright, *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite Composed in Syriac A.D. 507* (Cambridge 1882), 60.

does not include any places which can safely be located in the Harran-Edessa region, but another NA archive does have a geographical coverage of both the region of Gozan and the region of Harran-Edessa.<sup>56</sup> Another possibility is that *𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎶 Me-ṣe-e* is merely a homonym of *𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎶 Me-ṣe-e* and Aram. *Mṣb* (of the Sfire Inscription, mid. 8th century B.C.; in the kingdom of *Bīt-Agūsi*<sup>57</sup>).

Arameans settled also north and northeast of the Harran region, viz. in *K/Qipāni* (where city rulers are mentioned<sup>58</sup>), *Iṣalla* and *Ašša*<sup>59</sup> (cf. above and below resp.). *Iṣalla*, which was famous for its wine, is to be differentiated from (*A*)*ṣalli* not only on geographical grounds,<sup>60</sup> but also because the tribute of (*A*)*ṣalli* did not include wine (*ARI* 2, 553). *Iṣalla* is a well-attested geographical name (cf. J.N. Postgate, *RLA* 5, pp. 225f.). The reading *Iṣalla* seems certain in view of OPers. *Iṣalā* (< *i-ṣ-l-a* >, Elam. *Iṣ-ṣi-la*, *AOS* 33, p. 175a, s.v.), Syr. (*Tūrā d*) *ʾIṣlā* (> Arab. *Jabal al-ʾIṣāl*), Gk. *Ἰζαλας ὄρος* and Lat. *Iṣala Mons*. Linguistically, *Iṣalla* can be compared (in A.R. Millard's opinion, *JSS* 7, 1962, pp. 201f., even geographically equated) with Bibl. *ʾUṣāl*. It may be etymologically related to the anthroponym *ʾyṣl'* from Hatra (R. Degen, *JEOL* 23, 1975, p. 411). OB *I-ṣ/ṣa-li/lum* (*UET* 5, p. 46b) and OA *I-ṣ/ṣa-li-a* (W.W. Hallo in B. Buchanan, *Early Near Eastern Seals*, New Haven 1981, p. 462: 1146) can alternatively derive from a root with *-ṣ/-*.

In 882/1 B.C. Assurnasirpal II received the tribute of *Iṣalla* (no ruler is mentioned) which consisted of oxen, sheep and wine. This event is mentioned after Assurnasirpal II erected his statue at the source of the *Supnat* River (modern Sapan Çay/Dere near Babil) and before he crossed over to Mt. Kašyari approaching the city of Ki-nabu (*ARI* 2, 549). Like other rulers, the Izallan anonymous ruler might have delivered his tribute in order to avoid confrontation with Assurnasirpal II. The fact that Assurnasirpal II did not enter *Iṣalla* makes a precise localization of this region difficult. *Iṣalla* cannot refer to the whole range of modern Tūr 'Abdīn (pace G. Hoffmann, *Ausç.*, p. 167) as the latter was named *Kašyari* in NA sources;

<sup>56</sup> Cf. E. Lipiński in J. Aviram *et al.* (eds.), *Biblical Archaeology Today* (Jerusalem 1985), pp. 340ff.

<sup>57</sup> A. Lemaire and J.-M. Durand, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré et l'Assyrie de Shamsbi-ilu* (Geneva 1984), pp. 73f.

<sup>58</sup> See F.M. Fales, *RJO* 45 (1971), p. 21; *CCENA*, p. 96 and *passim*.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. M. Streck, *ZA* 13 (1898), p. 105.

<sup>60</sup> See M. Streck, *ZA* 14 (1899), p. 171; M. Falkner, *AfO* 18 (1956-58), pp. 15f.

Assurnasirpal II reached Mt. Kašyari after he had received the tribute of *Izalla*. As early as 1881, A. Socin (*ZDMG* 35, pp. 238f.) remarked that Syr. (Ṭūrā d)ʾIṣlā refers merely to the rough mountain near Mardin, i.e. to the western section of Ṭūr ʾAbdīn (cf. below). M. Streck (*ZA* 13, 1898, p. 104) accepted Socin's localization (cf. M. Falkner, *AfO* 18, 1956-58, pp. 15f.). K. Kessler (*TAVO* Beih. B/26, p. 128, n. 453), who advocates a location of *Izalla* in modern Karaça Dağ (west of Ṭūr ʾAbdīn), considers the possibility that late Roman and Byzantine Izalla replaced the older designation Kašyari and came to denote in addition certain sections of modern Ṭūr ʾAbdīn, conceivably the western ones. But Izalla did not refer to the whole range of Ṭūr ʾAbdīn as argued by L. Dillemann (*HMPA*, pp. 32f.; cf. below). NA Izalla must be sought — as is vigorously argued by K. Kessler — west of modern Babil and Ṭūr ʾAbdīn. However, Kessler's localization of Izalla in modern Karaça Dağ creates a problem, for Karaça Dağ is considered to be the ancient mountain of *Iasume* (classical Ἀἰσουμας) by L. Dillemann (*HMPA*, p. 34), who is followed by F.M. Fales (*CCENA*, pp. 127f. with n. 32).

It seems to me that NA Izalla is to be located near Mardin (following Socin, cf. above). Izalla might have stretched somewhat to the west and southwest at an altitude of 500-1000 m. reaching the southeastern corner of Karaça Dağ and the northernmost section of the Habur Triangle. I.M. Diakonoff (*RGTC* 9, p. 45 and map) locates *Izalla* (Urt. *I-ša-la*) in the northwest corner of Ṭūr ʾAbdīn and slightly beyond it evidently without taking into account the above-mentioned data. The following settlements were included in NA Izalla according to *ADD* 742 = *CCENA* 24, 17-33:

(1) *Ab/p-si-a-a* was identified by E. Forrer (*Prov.*, pp. 22f.) with modern Jabal al-Afs northwest of Mardin. K. Kessler (*TAVO* Beih. B/26, p. 51, n. 219) doubts J. Lewy's identification (*OrNS* 21, 1952, p. 3, n. 4) of *Ab/p-si-a-a* with modern Ebsi 18 km northwest of Midyat. (2) *Is/s-pal-lu-re-e*<sup>61</sup> was identified by E. Forrer (*Prov.*, p. 22; cf. J.N. Postgate, *R/LA* 5, p. 198) with *Iš-pi-li-ib-ri-a* of Assurnasirpal II on the one hand and with Roman Isphrium on the other. It was possibly not far from modern Fittar, 46 km northwest-west of Mardin. (3) *Bar-za-ni-is-ta* is identical with *Bar-za-ni-is-tu-un*, to which Assurnasirpal II came through the Pass of Mt. (A)madāni and then approached Damdamusa on his way to Amidi. Barzanistun was

<sup>61</sup> Mentioned together with <sup>kur</sup>*I-za-li* also in *ADD* 448 = *AR* 443, 13 (collated by S. Parpola, *Assur* 2/5, 1979, p. 73).



according to E. Forrer<sup>62</sup> in the region of Tall Mirsin, 31 km south of Diyarbakir or even more to the south whereas Mt. (A)madani is modern Mt. Metina. (4) *A-si-ḫi* cannot be equated with modern 'Azeḫ 30 km east of Cizre (*pace* J. Lewy, *OrNS* 21, 1952, pp. 2f.) as the NA form probably reflects WSem. \**'Ašīḫ*. The location of (5) *Ka-āš-pi*, (6) *Ia-da-'i* and (7) *Til-Ḫa-ni-i* is not known. (4-5) are homonymous with settlements in the Habur region and Assyria proper respectively.<sup>63</sup>

The above-mentioned data favour a location of Izalla in the region of Mardin,<sup>64</sup> but not as far as the Karaça Dağ. There is, however, a passage in an inscription of Adad-nerari II (*ARI* 2, 426) which reports the surrender of settlements at the foot of Mt. Kašyari. These settlements were previously occupied by the Temanite Mamlī. K. Kessler (*TAVO* Beih. B/26, p. 26) considers the possibility that since the whole passage points to the Harran region, the designation *Kašyari* described a more westerly region than previously assumed. It should be remembered that *Kašyari* (non-Sem., poss. Hurr.<sup>65</sup>) was always a purely geographical designation whereas Izalla, which is not recorded before the first millennium B.C., refers to a political entity. NA Izalla might have been considered by the Assyrians to form a part of the Kašyari Range. The name Kašyari did not survive after the NA period whereas Izalla is recorded as late as the early Middle Ages.

The Arameans of the region of Ḫuzīrīna and Harran belonged to the Temanite tribe. Since the Arameans had contacts with the Luvians in that region, the Aramaic language and script were called 'Temanite' in Hieroglyphic Hittite.<sup>66</sup> Temanites dwelt also in the Habur Triangle, in the piedmont of Mt. Kašyari, in Jabal Sinjar and in *Geṭara* (Tall ar-Rimāḥ) and its region.

In the Upper Tigris Valley around *Amidi* (Diyarbakir) there existed in the 9th century B.C. the Aramean state of *Bīt-Zamāni*.

<sup>62</sup> *Prov.*, p. 22; A.T. Olmstad (*JAOs* 38, 1918, p. 252, n. 74) identified it with 'Ammane Qale northwest of Tūr 'Abdīn.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. K. Deller and J.N. Postgate, *AfO* 32 (1985), p. 72 *ad Kaltappu* (cf. also *RGTC* 8, p. 198) and *RGTC* 3, p. 24 resp.

<sup>64</sup> The region of Mardin has always produced good wine and superb *dibs* (syrup made out of grapes) according to J. Černík, *Technische Studien-Expedition* (bearbeitet u. herausgegeben von A. Freiherr von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld, Gotha 1875, p. 44).

<sup>65</sup> Cf. M. Salvini, *Akkadica* 35 (Nov.-Dec. 1983), pp. 26f.; E. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* (Berlin 1965), p. 91 (*Ka-a-ši-ia-ra* as an anthroponym); I.M. Diakonoff, *Hurrisch und Urartäisch* (Munich 1971), p. 10, n. 10.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. J.D. Hawkins, *Iraq* 36 (1974), p. 68 with n. 6.

Among the inhabitants of *Šubriya* there seem to have been also Arameans in the Sargonid period.<sup>67</sup> Several Semitic toponyms (e.g., *Madara*) persisted in Tūr 'Abdīn during the period under discussion. The region further south around *Tillē*, the capital of MA *Katmuḥḫi*, might have been Aramaicized during the former half of the first millennium B.C.

Prior to the final Assyrian conquest, *Laqē*, especially *Bīt-Ḥalūpē* near the confluence of the Habur into the Euphrates, had sporadically been influenced by *Bīt-Adini*. The latter extended to the region of the bend of the Euphrates and became the chief rival of Assyria in the former half of the 9th century B.C., after all the other political entities in Upper Mesopotamia had been conquered by the Assyrians. Its only recorded ruler, viz. *Aḫuni* of the dynasty of *Adini* organized several times anti-Assyrian coalitions consisting of north Syrian rulers. *Yasbuqu*, which was once a member of such a coalition, is mentioned (as *Yišboq*, Septuagint Ιεσβοκ) among Keturah's sons in the Old Testament. This probably implies that *Yasbuqu* played a role in the South Arabian trade. The Yasbuqueans were probably found on the route of the frankincense trade somewhere in the region of western Upper Mesopotamia-North Syria. They were allies of *Bīt-Adini* just as later on Arabians (led by *Zabibē* and *Samsī*), who were found in Wādī Sirhān and/or near it, joined an anti-Assyrian coalition headed by Aram Damascus.<sup>68</sup>

## C. Northern Syria

1. **Introduction:** Several Syrian toponyms from the first quarter of the first millennium B.C. (in NA sources) might have been mentioned as early as the third millennium B.C. in the Ebla documentation.<sup>69</sup> The cases of Hamath (Eb. *Ḥa-ma-tū<sup>ki</sup>*, 'A-ma(-at/du)<sup>ki</sup>),<sup>70</sup> Dabigu (Eb. *A-da-bi-ig/gū<sup>ki</sup>*)<sup>71</sup> and Carchemish have already been noticed by G. Pettinato,<sup>72</sup> A. Archi<sup>73</sup> and E. Sollberger.<sup>74</sup> Eb.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. TCAE, p. 121 ad ABL 252.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. I. Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent 9th-5th Centuries B.C.* (Jerusalem-Leiden 1982), pp. 82ff.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. E. Sollberger, *SEb.* 5 (1982), pp. 225f.

<sup>70</sup> See P. Fronzaroli, *OrS* 33-35 (1984-86), pp. 140f.; E. Sollberger, *ARET* 8, p. 44 with refs.

<sup>71</sup> *ARET* 3, p. 314, s.v.

<sup>72</sup> *OrAnt.* 15 (1976), pp. 11ff.

<sup>73</sup> *SEb.* 1 (1979), p. 91; 2 (1980), pp. 2ff.; 5 (1982), pp. 201ff.

<sup>74</sup> *ARET* 8, pp. 44f. (but hardly just a homonym!).

*Ḫa-lam<sup>ki</sup>* is the forerunner of *Ḫalab* (Aleppo) according to M. Görg.<sup>75</sup> Is Eb. *Ba-ti-nu<sup>ki</sup>* (*ARET* 8, 522, 12; 523, 16) the forerunner of NA *Patina* (Sem. Unqi)? The geographical horizon of the Ebla documentation was larger than the political boundaries of the Ebla kingdom which — according to P. Matthiae<sup>76</sup> — extended from the Taurus in the north as far as the Hama district in the south and from the Euphrates in the east (with some areas east of the Euphrates near Carchemish) and the region west of the Orontes in the west (reaching the Mediterranean in several points). The following identifications are valid only if no homonymy is involved. It should be remembered that the syllabary of the Ebla documentation has not yet been established. Eblaite forerunners of second-millennium toponyms are *Ī-mar<sup>ki</sup>* (Emar in Amurru; Sarg. *I-ma-rum*,<sup>77</sup> poss. ‘fortress’<sup>78</sup>), *Ir-i-tum<sup>ki</sup>*<sup>79</sup> (Irridu), *Du-ub<sup>ki</sup>* (Tuba),<sup>80</sup> *Tu-tū-lu<sup>ki</sup>* (Tuttul),<sup>81</sup> *Ur/Ūr-sá-um<sup>ki</sup>* (or *Ur-sa<sup>ki</sup>* = Uršu<sup>82</sup>), *Na-gar<sup>ki</sup>* (Nagar, see above, A, 7), and possibly *Ḫa-la-bi-du* (OB *Ḫa-la-bi-it*, presumably in the Terqa district<sup>83</sup> with a homonymous place near Eshnuna, *RGTC* 3, p. 86), as well as *A-ḫu/ḫū<sup>(ki)</sup>*<sup>84</sup> (and *’A-su/šū<sup>ki</sup>*?)<sup>85</sup> > MB Azu, *U<sub>9</sub>-ru<sup>ki</sup>*<sup>86</sup> (MB Uru) and *Ša-dab<sup>ki</sup>*<sup>87</sup> (MB *Šatappu*). The last three toponyms recur in the MB documentation from Emar.<sup>88</sup> They probably refer to settlements in the kingdom of Emar.<sup>89</sup> Eb. *Wa-ša-ru<sup>ki</sup>* (*ARET* 1, p. 273, s.v. *Wa-ḫa-*) is probably a homonym of Sarg. *Wa-ša-ru-um<sup>ki</sup>* in the

<sup>75</sup> *Biblische Notizen* 13 (1980), pp. 27f.: 7; cf. W. von Soden, *Ebla* 1975-85, pp. 84, 86 with n. 44.

<sup>76</sup> *EER*, p. 169; cf. J. Renger, *Ebla* 1975-85, pp. 293ff.

<sup>77</sup> *OIP* 14, 149, 3 (cf. *RGTC* 1, p. 78; E. Sollberger, *ARET* 8, p. 45).

<sup>78</sup> *E-ma-ri* is the equivalent of Akk. *dūru* according to *malku* = *šarru* (A. Draffkorn Kilmer, *JAOs* 83, 1963, p. 428, 237). P. Fronzaroli (*JSS* 22, 1977, pp. 151f.; *OrS* 33-35, 1984-86, p. 143), who does not notice this traditional lexical equation, derives this toponym from *’M-R* ‘live, dwell’.

<sup>79</sup> E.g., *ARET* 1, p. 269; see P. Fronzaroli, *OrS* 33-35 (1984-86), p. 143.

<sup>80</sup> See P. Matthiae, *SEb.* 1 (1979), pp. 115f.

<sup>81</sup> See P. Matthiae, *EER*, p. 195 and map; E. Sollberger, *ARET* 8, p. 49, index, s.v.

<sup>82</sup> See A. Archi, *SEb.* 2 (1980), pp. 2f.

<sup>83</sup> See M. Görg, *Biblische Notizen* 13 (1980), p. 27: 5.

<sup>84</sup> *ARET* 1, p. 264, s.v. with refs.; 3, 231, v, iv, 2; 8, p. 41, s.v. with refs.

<sup>85</sup> *ARET* 1, p. 264; 3, p. 316; 4, pp. 271f., s.vv. with refs.

<sup>86</sup> *ARET* 3, p. 334; 8, p. 49, s.vv. with refs.

<sup>87</sup> *ARET* 3, p. 332, s.v. with refs.

<sup>88</sup> *ur<sup>ku</sup>A-ḫu* (= Tall Hadidi, see R. Whiting *apud* R. Dornemann, *AASOR* 44, 1979, pp. 145f.); *ur<sup>ku</sup>A-su* (RPA 6, 7, 13): *ur<sup>ku</sup>Ū-ri* (RPA 6, 215, 1; = Tall Munbāqa, see W. Mayer, *MDOG* 118, 1986, pp. 127f.); *ur<sup>ku</sup>Ša<sub>10</sub>-tap-pi* (RPA 6, 218, 4).

<sup>89</sup> Is Eb. *Āš-da-du<sup>ki</sup>* (*ARET* 3, 460, v. ii, 5, cf. A. Archi, p. 318 *ad loc.*; 4, 3 r. xii, 10) the forerunner of MB *Aštata* (the region of Emar)?

Hamrîn Basin. Therefore, it stands to reason that *Waşarum* (> *a/uşarum*, cf. *WO* 14, 1983, p. 240) was extant in early East Semitic as well.

2. **Eblaite forerunners of NA toponyms from the kingdom of Hamath/Hadrach:** 1. *Ap-su/šū/zu/zu<sup>ki</sup>* (see P. Fronzaroli, *OrS* 33-35, 1984-86, p. 139) > Aram. <sup>3</sup>*pš* (*KAI* 202, B, 11). — 2. *A-ti-in<sup>ki</sup>* (*ARET* 3, p. 316 with refs.) > NA *A-de-en-nu* (later *A-ti-in-ni*, *AOAT* 6, pp. 3.55). — 3. *A-ra-ū<sup>ki</sup>* (*ARET* 3, 869, iii, 4; cf. p. 315, *s.v.*) is to NA *A-ra-a* (*AOAT* 6, p. 22) as *Bar-ga-u<sup>ki</sup>* is to NA *Bar-ga-a* (etc., no. 5 below). — 4. *Dar-āb<sup>(ki)</sup>* (a village governed by an *ugula*<sup>90</sup>) is possibly > NA *El-li-tar(a)-bi* in view of Eg. *t-r-b* (*Ta-ra-b*)<sup>91</sup> from the 15th century B.C. — 5. *Bar-ga-u<sup>ki</sup>* (*ARET* 3, p. 319; 4, p. 272, *s.vv.* with refs.) > EA *Bar-ga*<sup>92</sup> > NA *Bar-ga-a*, *Pa-ar-ga-a* (*AOAT* 6, pp. 67.273), Hierog. Hitt. gentilic *Parkawana-s*<sup>93</sup>; cf. no. 3 above.

3. **Eblaite forerunners of NA toponyms from the kingdom of Bīt-Agūsi:** 1. *Ar-na<sup>ki</sup>* (*ARET* 1, p. 264, *s.v.* with refs.), poss. > NA *Ar-né-e* in view of Eg. *ī-r-n* (cf. M.C. Astour, *JNES* 22, 1963, p. 232: 102). This was the first known capital of Bīt-Agūsi, but shortly after 850 B.C. the capital was transferred to Arpad. This may reflect the penetration of the Aramean semi-nomads from the east towards the northwest.<sup>94</sup> An analogous process was observed by archaeologists in central Palestine.<sup>95</sup> — 2. *Mu-ur/ūr/ru<sup>ki</sup>* (*ARET* 3, p. 329; 4, p. 278; 8, p. 47, *s.vv.* with refs.) > NA *Mu-ū-ru*. The former is mentioned in connection with Mari, whereas the latter was a royal city of Arame King of Bīt-Agūsi in 834 B.C. It was conquered by Shalmaneser III,

<sup>90</sup> A. Archi, *SEb.* 2/1 (1980), p. 13: TM. 75.G.1669 r. iii, 3; *ARET* 1, p. 265; 4, p. 273, *s.vv.* with refs.; 8, 540, 6.

<sup>91</sup> See M.C. Astour, *JNES* 22 (1963), p. 227:48. Is it a deified toponym in MB *Da-ra-ab* (cf. J.A. Brinkman, *AfO* 28, 1981/2, p. 73f.)? This deity was worshipped by *Ha-am-mi-Da-ra-ab*, king of *Ia-ra-qu-ut-tim(?)<sup>ki</sup>*. His seal is "Syro-Mitannian" and the toponym reminds one of NA *Ia-ra-qu*, a mountain in Northern Syria (*AOAT* 6, pp. 184f.; belonging to the kingdom of Hamath).

<sup>92</sup> See H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v. u. Z.* (Berlin 1969), pp. 18.28.51.54f.82.207.210.

<sup>93</sup> P. Meriggi, *Hieroglyphisch-bethitischer Glossar* (2nd ed., Wiesbaden 1962), p. 93, *s.v.*

<sup>94</sup> See J. Matthers, *Iraq* 40 (1978), pp. 144ff.; *idem*, *The River Qoneiq, Northern Syria and its Catchment: Studies Arising from the Tell Rifa'at Survey 1977-79*, 1 (Oxford 1981), p. 417. Note the case of *Haṣaṣu*, which originally belonged to Patina, but later on formed part of Bīt-Agūsi (see J.D. Hawkins, *RLA* 4, p. 240).

<sup>95</sup> Cf. *ALS*, pp. 324f. (central Trans-Jordan and the eastern and central flanks of the Cis-Jordanian hill country).

who fortified it and built a palace there (*ARAB* 582). This implies that *Mu-ú-ru* became the centre of a province. In M.C. Astour's opinion,<sup>96</sup> Mūru may be localized in modern Marī, but this is phonologically difficult. A certain *ʾMu-ra-a-a-i-tu*, who owned a slave according to a document from Calah (793/2 B.C., *CTN* 2, 93, 6.15), might have originated from there. — 3. *Gār-mu<sup>ki</sup>*, *Gār-me|mi-um<sup>ki</sup>* (see P. Fronzaroli, *OrS* 33-35, 1984-86, p. 142; cf. P. Matthiae, *EER*, p. 170) is perhaps the forerunner of NA *Til-ka<sup>r</sup>-me* (*AOAT* 6, p. 354). For *Til(-lu)-* + ancient GN see below, C, 4. A synonym of *Garmu* (*|ka<sup>r</sup>m-*) may be Eb. *Ar-mi(-um)<sup>ki</sup>* (plus adjectival *-y-*) in view of *ar-mu* = Akk. *ka<sup>r</sup>-mu* in *mal<sup>ku</sup>* = *šarru* (A. Draffkorn Kilmer, *JAOs* 83, 1963, p. 429, 243). P. Fronzaroli (*OrS* 33-35, 1984-86, p. 141) derives *Armium* from R-M-Y 'throw' > 'take one's abode (in a place)' (?).

4. **Eblaite forerunners of NA toponyms from the kingdom of Bīt-Adini:** 1. *Šu|zu-ra-an<sup>ki</sup>* (*ARET* 3, pp. 332.335, s.vv. with refs.), is perhaps > NA *Su-ú-ru-nu* (modern Šōrān acc. to E. Honigmann, Pauly-Wissowa *Realencyclopädie*, 2. Reihe, Halbbd. 8, col. 1599). — 2. *Ba-šê-er<sup>ki</sup>* (*ARET* 3, p. 659, ii, 3), perhaps > NA *Til-Ba-se-re-e* (modern Tall Bāšer, see S. Schiffer, *Die Aramäer...*, Leipzig 1911, pp. 69f.). *Til(lu)-* precedes several first-millennium toponyms which continue older settlements, such as NA *Til-Na-ḫi-ri* (*AOAT* 6, p. 354) < *Naḫur* (*RGTC* 5, p. 201) and N/LB *Til-Daḡalu* (poss. < *Daḡala*, see *RGTC* 8, p. 309).

<sup>96</sup> *La toponymie antique. Colloque de Strasbourg 12-14 Juin 1975* (Strasbourg 1977), p. 140 and map.

## REVIEWS

*La Bible. Écrits intertestamentaires. Édition publiée sous la direction d'André Dupont-Sommer et Marc Philonenko.* Gallimard: Paris, 1987. Pp. cl + 1903. Price: 380 FF.

This handsome volume constitutes vol. 3 of the renowned Pléiade Bible, the first volume of which comprising the Old Testament and apocrypha as edited by E. Dhorme appeared in 1956-59, followed by the New Testament volume (1971). The present volume was originally conceived by Dupont-Sommer as early as 1959, that is to say, a long time before the recent revived and intense interest in the intertestamental literature. It appears that a set of circumstances prevented its projected publication in 1970, which can be said to be something of a blessing in disguise, for in the meantime at least two respectable collections of documents of a similar genre have appeared: Charlesworth and Sparks. The present volume, however, is quite distinct from either of these two collections in English in its conception and contents, so that, apart from it being in French, it is not by any means a superfluous addition.

The outstanding and unique feature of the volume is that a substantial part of it, about one third, presents some of the major Qumran writings, the remainder entitled Old Testament pseudepigrapha. Dupont-Sommer was one of the first scholars to establish a clear link between the Qumran sect and the Essenes. Whilst Caquot and Philonenko, who have written a general introduction to the volume, are rightly aware that not all OT pseudepigrapha are strictly Essene in origin (p. lxi), and further some scholars would have reservations about all the Qumran documents presented in the volume being classified as “les principaux écrits esséniens de Qoumrân”, it must be remembered that some pseudepigraphic documents (e.g. 1 Enoch and Jubilees) did form part of the Qumran library and many attest to some traits usually associated with the Essene movement. Thus there is a good sense in making available in a single volume the literary remains of these two categories. The editors are also aware of the problematic nature — from a chronological viewpoint — of the epithet “intertestamental” included in the subtitle of the volume (pp. xii-xiii).

Unlike Charlesworth's two-volume edition, this French volume is intended not for specialist biblical scholars, but its intended readership is the educated public. We are told (p. xiii) that Dupont-Sommer loved to speak of the volume as “the Bible of the humanist”. This is reflected in the manner in which introductory matters are handled and the extent of

annotation and bibliography, though some works are rather extensively annotated.

Preface by Philonenko (pp. xi-xiv) is followed by a general introduction penned jointly by Caquot and Philonenko (pp. xv-cl), who provide a broad historical background against which these documents are to be read, and there is a major section devoted to the Qumran findings and the Essenes, followed by a fairly detailed description of each of the Qumran documents and OT pseudepigrapha included in the volume, and finally a brief bibliography relating to each of the preceding three sections of the Introduction.

Apart from the scholars already mentioned the following took part in this project: D.A. Bertrand, J. Hadot, P. Geoltrain, E.-M. Laperrousaz, V. Nikiprowetzky, B. Philonenko-Sayar, P. Prigent, J. Riaud, J.-M. Rosenstiehl, F. Schmidt, and A. Vaillant.

Universal agreement is hardly likely on the question of which works are to be included. The unplanned delay in publication mentioned above has resulted in the inclusion of the Temple Scroll for which A. Caquot is responsible. The first section, Qumran writings, for most of which Dupont-Sommer is responsible, includes the well-known major works supplemented by some short fragmentary works such as biblical commentaries, Testimonia, Florilegium and non-canonical Pseudo-Davidic psalms. The second section is bound to be more problematic in respect of the above-mentioned question of which works to select for inclusion. The major works such as I and II Enoch, Jubilees, Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Psalms of Solomon, Sibylline Oracles, IV Ezra, the Apocalypse of Baruch (both Greek and Syriac) are naturally there. Special mention ought to be made of Biblical Antiquities (done by Hadot), which is not to be found in either Charlesworth or Sparks. All in all, 19 works have been chosen for inclusion. Each work begins with a brief "notice" and bibliography, immediately followed by the text in French annotated, some rather extensively and others far less so. The usefulness of the volume is greatly enhanced by an index of proper nouns and a thematic index, which latter is quite extensive exceeding 45 pages in two columns. The translation is lucid, and the technical level of production is extremely high.

I take this opportunity of appending herewith an assortment of philological observations concerning one of the Qumran writings presented in the volume, namely the so-called Genesis Apocryphon from Cave 1.

The criteria for so-construction of the bibliography (p. 385) are rather obscure. The more or less full bibliographical information on the document (1Q GnAp) is to be found not only in the 2nd ed. of Fitzmyer's edition of the document, but to be supplemented by what is found in J.A. Fitzmyer and D.J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* (Rome, 1978), pp. 206-8.

Another tiny 1Q fragment published by Milik in *DJD* I as no. 20 is obviously not in Hebrew (p. 384, n. 2), but in Aramaic.

ii 9 זכרלך “souviens-toi”. For the imperative with the required force in this context, one would rather expect a reflexive form, say, אודכר. We suggest to vocalise it /dhīr lāh/ (defective spelling) “you remember” with a “passive” ptc. of resultative force. Cf. A. Hurvitz, *The Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew* [in Heb.] (Jerusalem, 1972), pp. 119-21.

ii 12 אנפי “mon visage”. In ii 16f. Fitzmyer restores צלם אנפיך, for which we read “ton visage”. The full form, which should have been restored in ii 12 actually occurs in xx 2 צלם אנפיה, which Dupont-Sommer renders “le dessin de son visage”.

ii 22 [il alla trouver], for which Fitzmyer has [רט] followed by לחנוך. The restored verb would require על [see our remarks in *Revue de Qumrān*, 29 (1972), 39f.], and from the photo of the column one can see more than two spaces at the beginning of the line. Equally sensible is Dupont-Sommer’s handling of two more damaged places in ii 24 “toi à qui moi [ ]” for Fitzmyer’s [אתית לך] אנה, and ii 25 “je suis venu ici pour [ ]” להכא אתית לך.

xx 7 דלידיהא “la gracilité de ses mains”. K. Beyer also identifies דל as a separate lexeme: “Und neben all dieser Schönheit besitzt sie (auch) viel Weisheit. Und die Zartheit ihrer Hände ist schön” (*Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* [Göttingen, 1987], p. 174). The difficulty with this interpretation of דל is that the description of Sarai’s physical beauty had ended in the middle of line 7, and then the author goes on to say ועם כול שפרא דן חכמא שניא עמהא ודלידיהא יאא. On דל, see now also J.C. VanderKam in *RdQ*, 10 (1980-81), 61, n. 16, and A. van Selms in *J. of Northwest Semitic Languages*, 1 (1971), 51f.

There is little doubt that the author of the scroll shared the same exegetical tradition as preserved in *Tanhuma* (ed. S. Buber [1885]), pp. 116-18, where /’ēšet ḥayil/ of Pr 31.10 is identified with Sarah, her husband with Abraham, and also /ḥayil/ is taken in the sense of “beauty”. One also suspects that behind this lies a typically midrashic chain of biblical verses starting with Gn 24.1 /w’avrāhām zāqēn bā’ bayyāmim/, Pr 17.6 /’āteret zqēnim bnē vānim/, and 12.4 /’ēšet ḥayil ‘āteret ba’lāh/. Particularly noteworthy is עליא שפרהא לעלא מן כולהן “her beauty exceeds that of all of them”, with which is to be compared Pr 31.29 ‘many women have done excellently, but you surpass them all (/w’att ‘ālit ‘al kullānā/). The scroll’s author is, however, aware of what follows in Pr 31.30 ‘Charm is deceitful, and beauty is vain’. But, instead of extolling as a counterbalance the religiosity of the ideal woman of Proverbs — ‘but a woman who fears the Lord is to be praised’ — he refers to his heroine’s useful and practical skills (and “wisdom”), for which indeed the ideal woman of Pr 31 is also famed. Incidentally, the author of the Song of Songs also seems to be conscious of



Pr 31, for Ct 6.9 /rā'uhā vānōt way'aššrūhā mlāḥōt ufilagšim wayhallūhā/ "The maidens saw her and called her happy; the queens and concubines also, and they praised her" undoubtedly mirrors Pr 31.29 /qāmu vānehā way'aššrūhā ba'lāh wayhallāh/ "Her children rise up and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praises her". The fact that these are the only cases in Ct of the Waw consecutive cannot be coincidental.

xx 10 **כדי הוית מתגר על דילהא**, which can hardly mean "si bien que je tirai profit de cela". Likewise Beyer, "wodurch ich ja um ihretwillen (am ehesten) einen Vorteil hatte", and B. Jongeling, C.J. Labuschagne, and A.S. van der Woude, *Aramaic Texts from Qumran with Translations and Annotations* (Leiden, 1976), "whereupon I was benefited because of her". Neither **כדי** nor the periphrastic past continuous can bear such an interpretation. See our remarks in *RdQ*, 29 (1972), 42f. The verb in the sense "to engage in trade" is attested, in addition to the information given in lexicæ, also in the Palestinian Targum fragments from the Cairo Genizah: Gn 34.10 **אֶתְגַּרְוּ בָּהּ** (MT /šhārūhā) and 42.34 **[תת]גָּרַן** (MT /tishāru/); see M.L. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Cincinnati, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 69, 119. See also the Targum Neofiti 1 and Peshitta to these passages. As regards the question whether the root of the verb is **תגר** or **אגר**, Fleischer held that the former is, in Aramaic and Arabic alike, secondary development from the latter: see in J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim* etc. (Leipzig, 1867-68), vol. 2, p. 581, a view now obsolete since the former undoubtedly originates with the Akkadian *tamkāru* "merchant"; see S.A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* (Chicago, 1974), p. 107. The vocable **תגרא** "legal contest" must be further derived from this. I earlier suggested: "While I was negotiating about her" (*RdQ* 8 [1972] 42f.).

xx 22 **אסמוך ידי** "d'imposer mes mains", and 29 **סמכת ידי** "j'imposai mes mains". The number of the noun is not certain. In Acts 9.17 Ananias lays his hands (χεῖρες) to restore Saul's eyesight, for which the Peshitta uses the singular. A small enquiry made on select Gospel passages in the Syriac and Christian Palestinian versions does not give a clear-cut picture. I am not aware of any iconographic evidence which might help to resolve the issue.

xxi 19 **יתבת**, which cannot mean "je reviens".

xxi 25 **אודמנן כחדא לקרב לעמקא** "s'étaient concertés ensemble pour combattre dans la Vallée...", likewise Fitzmyer "joined together to fight a battle in the valley of Siddim" and E. Vogt in his *Lexicon linguae aramaicae veteris testamenti* etc. (Rome, 1971), s.v. **זמן**: "unā pactionem inierunt de bello (gerendo)". The difficulty with this line of interpretation is occasioned by the preposition Lamed prefixed to **עמקא**, whereas in 31f. we have... **עכדו קרבא בעמקא**. Having regard to our note above ad ii 22, we suggest something like "they converged for a battle towards the valley". The notion of physical movement is quite plausible in the crux in Dn 2.9.

xxii 1 **ענה מן רעה** “l’un des bergers du petit bétail”; on the morphological difficulty presented by the form **רעה**, see our discussion in *RdQ*, 29 (1972), 37 (25°). xxi 5 **רעותנא** “our shepherds” leads one to expect **רעות** here if “one of the shepherds of...” is meant. One cannot invoke xx 19 **אסי** “physicians of” to support the argument that our **רעה** = **רעי**, for, unlike many other Aramaic idioms, our text has **אסיא** (xx 20), not **אסותא** as the emph. pl. of the noun. For an example of the interrogative turned into a generalising relative pronoun, see Sefire IC 16f. ... **ומן ליצר מלי ספרא** “one who will not observe the words of the inscription...”

xxii 16 **ברוך אברם לאל עליון**: on the force of the preposition Lamed, see our remarks in *Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute*, 5 (1979), 92-94 and D. Pardee in *Ugarit-Forschungen*, 8 (1976), 221-23.

TAKAMITSU MURAOKA

Pierre Bordreuil, *Catalogue des sceaux ouest-sémitiques inscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, du Musée du Louvre et du Musée biblique de Bible et Terre Sainte* (Bibliothèque Nationale: Paris, 1986). Pp. x + 131, Figg. Price: 220 FF.

The author, well known for his manifold contributions to the study of west semitic epigraphy, offers here a complete catalogue of all the inscribed west semitic seals kept in public collections in Paris. But, instead of publishing them according to their present whereabouts, he made an overall catalogue grouping the seals according to the language of their inscriptions — Phoenician, Hebrew, Moabite, Ammonite, Aramaic — and, within each group, according to their proposed date. This is a welcome initiative that presents the material in the most convenient way. For each seal a photograph of the engraved side(s) and one of an impression of the seal are given. The quality of these figures will greatly facilitate the iconographic and further palaeographic study of these seals.

The corpus consists of 140 seals of which 46 are published here for the first time, while other ones, although already known, are the subject of a new interpretation. One seal — no. 125 — is known only through the impression on a cuneiform tablet of the Persian period. The great majority of the rest, however, are stamp seals, with some 18 Aramaic cylinder seals.

Most of the seals bear only one personal name, sometimes prefixed with the lamed of the genitive or followed by a patronym. More exceptionally a title or a function is given as well: MLK “king” (no. 7, cf. below), SPR “scribe”, “secretary” (no. 38; 51), ‘BD “servant” (no. 6; 40; 41b; 69; 85; 86; 90), KWMR “priest” (no. 140). BRK on the 7th c. Ammonite seal no. 76 is taken by Bordreuil as an active participle used as a substantive — “the blessing one”. It would designate a kind of priest (cf. p. 5). The whole phrase BRK LMLKM would mean “intercessor with Milkem” or the like. This is to bring the inscription in accordance with a motif carved on the side of the seal that shows a blessing figure. The passive formula BRK L+Divine Name to express a blessing administered to someone is so

common, however, and it conforms so well to the practice of expressing some kind of relationship between a seal owner and a god (see 'BD 'TRŠMN on no. 85 or *narām* + Divine Name on Akkadian cylinder-seals) that I feel much more attracted by it than by the new explanation proposed here.

One of the merits of this publication is to call attention to a category of too often neglected monuments. They should however attract much more notice than they usually do, because they provide interesting insights into the cultural life of Antiquity.

For instance the Assyrian impact on western countries would appear under a new light if all the relevant examples were collected and properly studied. A good illustration of this is given by no. 41, seal of ŠBNYW, servant of 'ZYW. 'ZYW is almost surely king Uzziah of Judah who reigned in the first half of the 8th c. at a time of political weakness of Assyria. The seal nonetheless bears an Assyrian motif on one side. As on the other side we find an Egyptian motif, would we not have here a "digest" of the politics of the time? On other seals we find Assyrian personal names in a surprising context. No. 54, a 7th c. Hebrew seal, shows a theophoric name in YHW (YHWYŠM') for a person whose father bears an Assyrian name (ŠN/WŠŠR'ŠR). The above-mentioned Ammonite seal no. 76 belonging to a worshipper of the Ammonite god Milkom bears the name MNG'NRT, that is the Assyrian name *Mannu-ki-Ninurta*, and its base is decorated with a mythical scene in Assyrian style. On the other hand no. 85, assumed to be the earliest known Aramaic seal (end of 9th c.), displays a purely Assyrian scene, although the owner's name (BRQ) and the god whose servant he proclaims himself to be — 'TRŠMN = Atarshamin — are Aramaean.

Later the Greek influence, clearly visible on the decoration of some seals, is also felt on some inscriptions. On no. 36, a previously unpublished seal, the inscription HKBLŠ transliterates the Greek ἐκηβόλος, an epithet of Apollo (note that it renders sigma by shin). On no. 37 the name of Baal is written with a Greek lambda.

Some seals seem to depart from the standard format. Here are two interesting examples.

No. 4, another unpublished seal, is of an unusual shape: a kind of bar in basalt touchstone, 77 mm long by 15 × 11.5 mm. Lunar and astral symbols are engraved on the small, flat end of the bar whereas the letters P'RHMN are carved in 8th c. Phoenician characters on the opposite end of one of the long sides. The author takes them to mean "(city of) P'R (of the) Amanus". He recalls that another city of P'R is already mentioned in the inscriptions of Karatepe (A I 6) and that HMN is mentioned at Zincirli in the name of the god B'L HMN, meaning probably "Lord of the Amanus". This P'R would be the same as the Hellenistic Pagras between Alexandrette and Antioch. The function of such an object is puzzling. It could be an official

city seal used to mark bags of precious metals after their alloy has been tested with the stone, but why isn't the name inscribed on the same side as the decorative motif itself?

No. 7 gives a two line inscription in late 8th c. Phoenician characters that the author reads LMLK ŠRM and translates "(belonging) to the king of the Tyrians". This is a new and attractive interpretation that the author defends with more details elsewhere ("Charges et fonctions en Syrie-Palestine d'après quelques sceaux ouest-sémitiques du second et du premier millénaire", in *CRAI*, 1986, pp. 298-305). It sounds strange, however, as the absence of the king's name is surprising. Seals are usually personal marks and not marks of a function only, whoever is entrusted with it. It is true — even if the author does not use this argument — that a parallel could be found in the famous LMLK-seals of Palestine, where we also find the expression LMLK followed by a place name. This parallel, however, would not be satisfactory because the place name on the LMLK-seals is never that of a capital city, and also because they always bear the name of the city itself, not, as in this case, the name of a people — ŠRM, "Tyrians". Be that as it may, however, the title of "king of the Tyrians" would raise some difficulties at the end of the 8th c., as it seems that the only attested title at that time is "king of the Sidonians". It should therefore probably be safer to go back to the reading of the *editio princeps* that restored a H instead of a Š at the beginning of the second line. Although difficult, this reading is not palaeographically impossible and it would make this seal a seal of king Hirom (II), who lived precisely in the second half of the 8th c.

Regrettably, the number of misprints or material errors is rather high in this otherwise welcome publication. Some are especially unfortunate, for instance p. 97 where the seal impression no. 125 is dated to 450 B.C. whereas in the text it is said that the tablet on which it appears dates from 505-504 B.C. References in the index are not always accurate either and one does not see why the word H̄TM (attested on no. 38; 76; 85; 125; 128) is missing. These criticisms are minor ones, however, in comparison with the interest raised by the reading of the book. We must thank the author for having provided us with this catalogue of inscribed west semitic seals and we look forward to the publication of the entire corpus that he is preparing.

GUY BUNNENS

Nadav Na'aman, *Borders and Districts in Biblical Historiography. Seven Studies in Biblical Geographical Lists*. (Jerusalem Biblical Studies, 4). Jerusalem: Simor Ltd. 1986. Pp. 275 plus Hebrew title page and table of contents. Price: \$ 24.

This volume is basically a translation from Hebrew of several articles by

N. Na'aman which have appeared in Israeli journals. Nowhere in the volume did this reviewer find acknowledgement of that fact. For Chapter Seven there was no way to avoid the fact that the author was using two of his previous articles since they had appeared in English (cf. p. 238, n. 1). The essays have been updated somewhat but none of the bibliography extends past 1983, when the manuscript was submitted to the publisher.

A thorough critical review of this book would require a book of similar size. The ensuing remarks will only point up some serious discrepancies in analysis to give an impression of the book as a whole. In many cases the identifications proposed are those of other scholars and in that regard the book is a useful reference. The theories expressed from chapter to chapter are uneven in value. Sometimes they are constructive and fruitful but at other times they seem far-fetched and over-imaginative. The user of this book must exercise caution.

Chapter One is "The Borders of the Tribes of Israel West of the Jordan and "The Land that Remains". The discussion centers on Josh. 13:2-6, the "Land that Remains", long recognized as expressing a territorial gap between the actual Israelite settled territory and that of the idealized "Land of Canaan" (Num. 34; Ezk. 47). Incidentally, the "Land of Canaan" as a geographical entity does seem to reflect the Late Bronze Age Canaan recognized by the Egyptians and their contemporaries during the New Kingdom Period. However, it is unlikely that the boundary description as preserved in the Bible was acquired by the Israelites during their initial period of conquest. The use of this border description by Ezekiel (with variations) shows that it was known to scribal circles in the late monarchical period. That it was still recognized in the Hellenistic period by the Phoenicians is clear from the fact that Laodicea in the upper Orontes Valley was called **לאדכא אש כנענ**, "Laodicea which is in Canaan" on its own coins (Strabo called it *Λαοδικεα ἡ πρὸς Λιβάνῳ*) to distinguish it from "Laodicea by the sea" on the N. Syrian coast (modern Lâdhikîyeh, Latakia). In other words, the geographical concept of Canaan was alive and well among the Phoenicians throughout their history; the Israelite literary circles could have acquired this border list at any time during the monarchy. It was most likely during the period of David's expansion northward and his alliance with Hamath and Tyre that his officials brought such a document to the Jerusalem archives. A later date is also possible.

Na'aman's location of Baal-gad (p. 43) is dependent upon P.W. Skehan. It is certainly correct to look for it at the northern end of the Mizpeh valley which itself is most likely the modern day Marj 'Ayyûn. This location of Mizpeh/Mizpah and that of Misrephoth-maim in the vicinity of the Liṭānî (p. 49) are important details. They will be seen to vitiate one of Na'aman's pet theories discussed below.

With reference to Mearah (pp. 52-53), Na'aman first assumes the often

proposed emendation (based on presumed haplography) to read *מֵמֶרְעָה*, “from Mearah”. Then he concludes that the formulation of Josh. 13:4 is “from ... to ... to”, supposedly showing that Mearah and Aphek have to be at opposite ends of the territory in question. This is to ignore the fact that the preposition *עַד* appears here (twice) without the conjunction. The absence of the preposition (*מִן*), “from” before Mearah is probably intentional and not due to haplography. The meaning of *עַד* in geographical contexts, especially without the conjunction, is often “with”, as pointed out by H.L. Ginsberg many years ago. Therefore, there is every reason so suggest, with Malamat, that Mearah was near to Aphek in Lebanon. This vitiates Na’aman’s reconstruction of the verse on page 54. Incidentally, the Late Bronze Age kingdom of Amurru certainly must have held some territory south of the Nahr el-Kebîr, which it had subverted from the kingdom of Byblos (as witnessed by the Amarna letters). This would explain why the biblical border of Canaan runs south of the Nahr el-Kebîr; it excludes the small kingdom of Amurru just as it excludes the kingdom of Kedesh.

The second part of this chapter, pertaining to the southern portion of the “Remaining land” and the southern border of Judah (pp. 62ff.) is based on Na’aman’s earlier studies of the “Brook of Egypt” and the “Shihor”. Both of those original publications are shot through with fallacies and misconceptions, which this reviewer has had occasion to point out elsewhere (see our remarks below regarding Chapter Seven). The “Brook of Egypt” is certainly the Wādī el-ʿArīsh, not the Wādī Ghazzeḥ as Na’aman maintained. Here one gets lost in Na’aman’s rhetoric and misses the point that the southern and northern borders of the “Land of Canaan” are not of the same origin. The northern border was a concept borrowed from Israel’s northern neighbors. The southern border reflects a situation during the Judean monarchy when the caravan trade from Arabia to Philistia was firmly in Judean hands. We would suggest the reign of Uzziah in the mid-eighth century B.C.E.

Chapter Two deals with “The Inheritance of Dan and the Boundary System of the Twelve Tribes”. In the broad view, Na’aman has recognized that the system of twelve tribes in the book of Joshua, as reflected in what he calls the “boundary system” (p. 93), is a “historiographic composition” without any historical, administrative reality behind it. This is a considerable advance on Kallai. At the same time, he cites the census of David as the source for the detailed information (pp. 98-102). Although that assumption may be correct, it does not justify Na’aman’s further conclusion that the “boundary system” was actually composed during the United Monarchy. Na’aman has realized that the administrative reality of the monarchy, under both David and Solomon, is that reflected in the list of Solomon’s administrative districts in 1 Ki. 4. The Josianic date (or later) for the composition of the book of Joshua is far more reasonable. A late author

was confronted with a reality, the dichotomy of the administrative lists, and he tried to incorporate all the non-tribal areas into his tribal inheritances.

With regard to Issacar, Na'aman incorporates the evidence produced by Z. Gal that the Issacar plateau was settled only in the tenth century B.C.E. As Gal has shown, this seems to indicate that the tribal "inheritance" was organized as part of monarchial policy. The original settlements of Issacar were mainly in the hills and valleys along the southern edge of the Jezreel Plain. They were assigned the plateau as part of a policy to expand the nation's land utilization in response to population increase.

Concerning the "inheritance of Dan" (pp. 107ff.), Na'aman seems to have missed the main point, namely that its town list was most likely a part of the government archive pertaining to the Solomonic districts. The author of Joshua had a better list of the districts than that preserved in 1 Ki. 4. There the description of the second district was badly corrupted, or rather, torn off, from the document used by the compiler of Kings. As Kallai and Aharoni have surmised, the list assigned by the author of Joshua to the Danites was originally the list from the second Solomonic district.

Na'aman is aware of the superior nature of the LXX B text of Josh. 19:46 (as known to commentators since the last century). He follows Noth in seeing the present day Ayalon stream as the original Jarkon. This is as it should be, but it also helps us to see why Mazar's proposal to identify Gath-rimmon with Tel Gerisa (Tell el-Jerisheh) was unlikely from the start. Strange, who was preceded by Knobel a century earlier, was certainly correct in seeing Gath-rimmon as identical with Gittaim. There seem to have been some towns missing from the Danite list, mainly Ono, Lod and one or two others. The list originally defined the sub-districts in a clockwise manner, from the hill country approaches to the border with Philistia, to the upper "Ayalon" valley settlements in the Joppa hinterland, to the central subdistrict that sat astride the main internal thoroughfares. Gath-rimmon was at the end of the list. Na'aman's map ignores the necessity of including the lowlands along the modern Ayalon stream as a natural ecological necessity. It also places the northern border too far south. The kurkar region of modern Ramat Gan and the *hamra* (red sand) region of modern Petah-tikva were most probably the real boundaries of the district.

Chapter Three is on "Marom/Maron and the Boundary between Zebulun and Naphtali". The central point is Na'aman's identification of Maron/Marom with Tel Qarnei Hitin. To this latter site he associates the "Waters of Merom" and places the battle of Josh. 11 in the vicinity. The entire theory was spelled out by Z. Gal in his doctoral thesis and one finds difficulty in discerning priority. One early factor was the supposed lack of Late Bronze remains in upper Galilee north of Jebel Jermak (Mt. Meiom in modern parlance). This presumed absence was based on overly hasty

survey work by Frankel and Finklestein in the wake of the "Operation Litany" of 1978. Since that time, Frankel has found considerable evidence for a real Late Bronze presence in that very same area. Therefore, there is no archaeological reason not to look for the site of the battle of Merom north of Jebel Jermak, as Aharoni had done in his dissertation. In fact, as Aharoni had seen, the description of the retreat of the defeated Canaanite forces described in Josh. 11:6 proves that the action took place in Upper Galilee:

And the Lord gave them into the hand of Israel, who smote them and chased them as far as Great Sidon and Misrephoth-maim, and eastward as far as the valley of Mizpeh.

Even Na'aman himself recognizes that Misrephoth-maim has to be somewhere near the Liṭānī and that the valley of Mizpeh is the Marj 'Ayyūn (see above). Such lines of retreat from Tel Qarnei Ḥiṭṭin are simply absurd.

The discussion of the name of the ancient town in question (pp. 121-122) reveals Na'aman's singular lack of familiarity with the fundamentals of Semitic linguistics and Hebrew grammar. Of course he is correct in following those scholars who recognize the superiority of the LXX B text in Josh. 11:1 where the Hebrew **מָרוֹן** is replaced by *Μαρρων* representing an original \**Mārôn*. He also has noted that according to LXX B we have a separate town of *Μαρρων* = \**Mārôn* for the Hebrew Q'rî, **מָרוֹן** (ק'רִי **מָרוֹן**) in Josh. 12:20. However, the identification with the **מָרוֹם** of **מִי מָרוֹם** (Josh. 11:5,7) is open to question. It is not just a matter of *suffixes* as Na'aman seems to believe. In fact his examples of the plural masculine suffix *-îm* alternating in many place names with *-în* are totally irrelevant. Between **מָרוֹן** and **מָרוֹם** it is a question of a final root consonant and also of the basic grammatical form. Both names could be explained as different realizations of an original *miqtal* form but the Greek and Akkadian transcriptions suggest *maqtal* (more normal for place names). The one should be from a root *r-w-n* and signify "Place of shouting (for joy)", while the other should be from *r-w-m* and mean "Place of elevating", "Lofty place" like **מָרוֹם**.

*The vocalization M'rûn probably corresponds to the second component in Sennacherib's Šamši-muruna, with a typical Canaanite development, viz. \*Marānu > \*Marôna > \*Morôna > M'rôn. Cf. biblical 'Ašq'lôn. The vocalization of Mêrôm may simply be due to vowel harmony with the preceding construct, mē "waters of..."*

The two names are reflected in Arabic Marûn and Medieval Meirôm. The tradition in Josh. 11 preserves the memory of Hazor's hegemony over the plains of Lower Galilee, but the conflict and subsequent retreat can hardly be anywhere else except in Upper Galilee. Thus, Na'aman's Chapter Three is a clever exercise in futility.

Chapter Four deals with "The Boundary between Ephraim and Manasseh



and Mount Ephraim". A particularly disturbing usage in this chapter is the expression wady Tirzah for the Wādī el-Far'ah. The Arabic name has not been superseded in any official terminology and wady Tirzah has no support in the ancient sources. Such off-the-cuff inventions have plagued Israeli geography from the very beginning. Furthermore, Na'aman seems unable to accept the fact that Mt. Ephraim is simply an ancient geographic term for the mountains of Samaria. It included the territories of Benjamin, Ephraim and Manasseh as demonstrable by many passages. Its Late Bronze Age predecessor was Mt. Shechem as demonstrated by Papyrus Anastasi I. The attempt to divide between the Solomonic district of Mt. Ephraim and the Manasseh district (Land of Hephher) introduces an element of artificiality totally uncalled for. Furthermore, his arguments bringing the tribal border up to the Wādī el-Far'ah are forced and unrealistic. As for the western segment of the boundary, along Wādī Qanah, the biblical description, whereby towns on one side are said to belong to one tribe, in the territory of another, also prove the general impracticality of using wadies as boundaries. In this case, some administrative fiat had established the boundary, but the sociological reality had originally been otherwise. Wadies usually encourage unity of the two sides. Watersheds between wady systems are more often preferred as administrative and tribal boundaries.

Chapter Five is on "The District System in the Time of the United Monarchy (1 Kings 4:7-19)". The few issues where Na'aman tries to be original are usually moot questions. Was there a commissioner over Judah? The textual evidence is equivocal. He also wants to stress that there were some areas where Israelites and Canaanites had already come to some kind of symbiosis. This is obvious, but the main point, as seen by Alt, is that the districts reflect two basic types, the older tribal territories and the newer Canaanite enclaves, mainly down on the plains. The latter were conquered by David and incorporated into the monarchy. 1 Ki. 4:7-19 is, therefore, the oldest and most reliable social-political document in the Bible. The few tribal boundary descriptions available to the author of Joshua were remnants of the tribal areas recognized by the Solomonic list. The author of Joshua had to stretch those boundaries to accommodate his idea of twelve tribes. Judges 1 is based on the reality that led to the Solomonic list, whether the author was directly dependent on a version of the list in 1 Kings 4 or not. Na'aman's map on p. 189 shows how unrealistic are some of his delineations. He still holds that the Assyrian references to a city named Dor indicate a district. An eponym for Dor is never attested (as it is for Megiddo). He is reading too much into the two original Assyrian documents. Besides, Forrer in his day was anxious to make the districts conform to his concept of Isa. 9:1 (Heb. 8:23).

Na'aman's treatment of the Land of Hephher seeks to have the cake and eat it, too. He wants to include the eastern Sharon Plain since he knows

that that is what the inclusion of Socho clearly calls for. On the other hand, he wants to get on the bandwagon of those who find the Land of Hepher in the hills of Manasseh. The towns of Gath-padalla, Yahma and Burim are mentioned in Shishak's list, so they must have belonged to Israel in 925 B.C. The genealogical relationship between Hepher and his son, Zelophehad, and the latter's daughters is not at all clear. Although this complex question remains open to some degree, Na'aman's solution (see his map on page 189) hardly reflects an intelligent administrative arrangement.

Chapter Six bears the presumptuous title "A New Look at the System of Levitical Cities". Na'aman's goal is to demonstrate that the entire list and its division in accordance with the twelve tribe system are artificial creations. He believes that the author of the list chose names at random from known place names in the various tribal areas and constructed the list as we see it now. Therefore, he cannot accept the very logical and convincing development for the list as proposed by Auld (cf. pp. 209-216). In fact, Auld's theory of the development of the list is quite sound if one can assume that the Chronicler had at his disposal a better text than that adopted by the author of Joshua. Such an assumption is not at all far fetched when we realize that the Chronicler made use of a text of Samuel better than the text preserved in MT.

Na'aman also cannot see why the principal cultic centers such as Dan, Bethel and Beer-sheba are not included in the Levitical list if the latter were really from the reign of David-Solomon. He misses the point. There were many shrines throughout the kingdom that were not Levitical. The Levitical cadres were associated with the central cultic institution at Jerusalem and it is the Chronicler's contention, undoubtedly correct, that that institution was established by David. Prior to David's time, many cultic centers existed all over the area of tribal settlement. David did not remove them and his son Solomon continued to recognize them (1 Ki. 3:3). Such was the case with the other kings of Judah, e.g. Rehoboam (1 Ki. 14:23) and even Asa (1 Ki. 15:14). So one would be surprised if those leading cultic shrines were in the Levitical list.

While scholars have long recognized that the twelve tribe system in the Book of Joshua is a late, artificial creation, the genius of Albright and Mazar was their recognition that the geographical distribution of the Levitical cities was more important than their assignment to each of the twelve tribes. Perhaps the most glaring inconsistency is the assignment of Gezer to Ephraim while neighboring Elteke, Gibbethon and Gathrimmon/Gittaim are assigned to Dan. Nearby Beth-shemesh is assigned to Judah. There are clusters of Levitical towns in various areas around the kingdom, especially in the newly conquered lowlands. Others are on some important frontier. That the original list can very well represent an administrative system, separate from but coordinated with the commissioners' districts, in

which the occupants truly engaged in “the work of the Lord and the service of the king” (1 Chron. 26:30b, 32b) was obvious to Mazar and others who understood the logic behind the asymmetry of the towns’ distribution. This point has been lost on Na’aman. The researches of A. Dearman and others in the Moabite “Table Land” are showing that the Levitical towns listed for that region were on the eastern fringe of the sedentary area facing the steppe-land. They were frontier forts. The group of Levitical towns in the so-called Danite inheritance were evidently for guarding the frontier facing Philistia and for securing the corridor from Beth-shemesh and Beth-horon to the major sea port at Joppa. The Levitical towns in the southern hill country of Judah were placed among the settlements belonging to the Kenizzites, a satellite tribe that had become allied with Judah. As for the Negeb, David did not place any Levitical towns there because he had moved the Simeonites into that area when he became king (this is the plain meaning of 1 Chron. 4:31b-32 when properly understood).

The final study, in Chapter Seven, is “The Place of the Sinai Peninsula in Egyptian and Biblical Border Concepts”. This is a rehash of two of Na’aman’s previous studies, both of which appeared in English. It contains three main points, two of which have long been accepted among scholars and a third which is Na’aman’s own concoction. The first is that the Egyptians reckoned their own border at Sile, the second is that they reckoned Sinai as an interim zone between Egypt and Canaan. His third idea has two parts, both of them fallacious. That the Egyptians reckoned their own border at Gaza and Yurza as Na’aman claims, is a totally erroneous conception based on a forced use of the Egyptian evidence and upon the assumption that Na’aman knows where to place Yurza. He completely misunderstands the context of Thutmose III’s annals where it should be obvious that Yurza has to be somewhere north (or northeast) of \*Sharḥôn (supposedly biblical Sharuhēn, itself a virtual ghost word) which is itself north or northeast of Gaza. The Hittites spoke of going to Egypt for war when they meant going to Kadesh on the Orontes. From their point of view, all of Canaan was part of Egypt. Why not include all of Canaan, not just Gaza and vicinity? Furthermore, Na’aman is determined to maintain his frivolous identifications of the “Brook of Egypt” (נַחַל מִצְרַיִם = Akkadian *naḥal Mušri*) with the Besor (Wādī esh-Shellāleh — Wādī Ghazzeḥ) and of Shur as a place name in the western Negeb. He significantly ignores the unequivocal evidence of the annals of Esarhaddon where it is obvious beyond all doubt that the Brook of Egypt has to be west of Raphia. This reviewer had given a proper grammatical analysis of the Esarhaddon passage in the article cited by Na’aman (p. 247, n. 17). One solid piece of evidence like this is sufficient; all the other circumstantial contexts and arguments must be judged in the light of one clear context.

The same was done in my article for the biblical references to Shur. There is no doubt that the biblical authors place it in the western Sinai facing the eastern border of the Egyptian delta. This evidence, too, is ignored by Na'aman.

In short, this final chapter is typical of Na'aman's work in historical geography: a plethora of rhetoric heavily documented by bibliography but lacking in the acumen required for understanding essential pieces of evidence.

ANSON F. RAINEY

Jacob Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah. The Judaic Commentary to the Book of Genesis. A New Translation*. 3 vols. [Brown Judaic Studies 104-106] Scholars Press: Atlanta, GA, 1985. Pp. xvi + 429, xvi + 429, and xvi + 398. Price: \$26.75, 29.55, and 28.55.

In this three-volume work Neusner provides a fresh English translation of the most important of classic midrashic literature. In the Preface Neusner states that his translation aims at a more colloquial and American English than Freedman's. A comparison of the two translations suggests that Neusner's is couched in contemporary English rather than in a specifically American idiom: thus a systematic substitution of 'you' for 'thou', 'why' for 'wherefore' and the like. The author believes that all the necessary basic philological work has been completed by his predecessors: "the exegesis of words and phrases does not interest me" (p. xiv). He takes the edition with a commentary by J. Theodor and Ch. Albeck, *Bereschit Rabba mit kritischem Apparat und Kommentar* (Berlin and Jerusalem, 1893-1936) as his base text. However, even a cursory glance at a recent edition of the Genizah fragments (M. Sokoloff, *The Geniza Fragments of Bereshit Rabba Edited on the Basis of Twelve Manuscripts and Palimpsests with an Introduction and Notes* [Jerusalem, 1982]) would demonstrate that it is still premature to declare redundant any further philological treatment of the text. For example, Neusner translates "When he wanted (רצה), he gave it (נתנו) to you..." (I.II.1.E. [p. 8]), Sokoloff's edition has כשהוא רוצה נתנו. Or again I.III.2.F.: "... stretching out the heaven at the south" for היה מותח בדרום, where the Genizah fragments join a few other MSS noted by Theodor-Albeck in reading בדרומו של רקיע: 'the heaven' is not enclosed within the square brackets. This general approach of Neusner's probably accounts for the well-nigh total absence of references to modern scholars: the only scholar mentioned fairly frequently is H. Freedman.

As the second justification for undertaking a fresh translation of the work Neusner refers to what has now become a standard feature of all his translations of Rabbinic literature, namely division of the text into sense-units with the use of Roman and Arabic numerals and the letters of the

Latin alphabet. The system allows one to follow the development of argument and polemic with greater ease. It might also make for easier cross-referencing, though Neusner himself has not many cross-references, and it may actually prove slightly cumbersome.

In often brief observations appended to each pericope the author is primarily concerned with questions of editorial activity, redaction criticism, development of polemic, and interrelationship between various units within the pericope as well as broader issues such as the message one could read in the pericope. This part of the work contains illuminating and refreshing observations reflecting Neusner's unique approach to, and perception of the rabbinic literature in general. Each volume concludes with a useful index, chiefly of proper nouns. The Preface is repeated in each volume. The present work can be profitably studied in conjunction with three others, all penned by Prof. Neusner: *Comparative Midrash: Genesis Rabbah and Leviticus Rabbah* (1986), *Reading Scriptures: An Introduction to Rabbinic Midrash with Special Reference to Genesis Rabbah* (1986), and *Genesis and Judaism: The Perspective of Genesis Rabbah* (1986).

TAKAMITSU MURAOKA

Jacob Neusner, *The Talmud of Babylonia. An American Translation. I: Tractate Berakbot* [Brown Judaic Studies 78]. Scholars Press: Chico, CAL, 1984. Pp. 435. Price: \$34.95 (cloth); 29.95 (paper).

This is the fourth instalment to appear in Prof. Neusner's multi-volume (36 to be precise) project which under his characteristically energetic leadership has already made considerable headway. In view of the reputation the Soncino Talmud in English translation has justly established over the years one is naturally to ask why a new translation.

According to Neusner, a new translation of this classic of Judaism is called for, since a fresh set of questions can be and ought to be asked regarding the Babylonian Talmud. Those questions are: "how the materials of the Bavli fall into diverse genres; second, how the framers of the document arranged their discussion of the Mishnah; third, what sorts of materials, in addition to those serving as Mishnah-exegesis, they constructed or borrowed, and fourth, how they proposed to put the whole together" (p. 26). It must be admitted that these questions can be best addressed on the basis of an analytical translation as reflected in the now familiar division of the text into sense-units. Redaction-critical remarks appended to the translation serve the same purpose.

Despite the title of the work "American Translation" and Neusner's explicit statement that the tractate has been done into "fairly fluent American English" (p. 7), the language used is not manifestly American except in matters of orthography; cf. our remark above on *Genesis Rabbah* by the same translator.

Neusner distinguishes four types of translation: literary translation, reference tr., research tr., and conversation-translation. His is of the fourth type, which “aims at ... clear comprehension not only of the words but also of the sense of the classic text. By ‘talking the reader through’ the text, clearly distinguishing language added by the translator from the original words of the text, the translator renders accessible the distinctive message and mode of thought of the ancient text” (p. 5). This approach is reflected in the aforementioned format and presentation of the text as well as explanatory glosses incorporated into the translation. However, the mode of arrangement of the text of translation aside, one might characterise Neusner’s translation also as paraphrastic.

Neusner himself admits that his translation does not purport to add much that is new in the way of philological, exegetical details. We are not even told which edition or manuscript has been translated. However, this does not appear to be uniform, applicable to all translators; the translation by M.S. Jaffee of the tractate Horayot (1987), for instance, is markedly different with its attention to traditional philological matters. One would at least wish for the uniformity in the format of translation.

Notwithstanding the translator’s disclaimer that his interest lies elsewhere other than in philology, an evaluation of this new translation would be incomplete without some attention being paid to philological aspects of it. The following is an assortment of random observations of that nature; the reviewer has used the Steinsaltz edition of the tractate in question (Jerusalem, 1984). They all relate to Chapter One.

I,A: “when he begins by teaching the rule” (דקתני) — Sonc. “When he commences”. The paraphrastic addition “rule” does not quite agree with N.’s rendition in the Mishnah concerned of the active participle: “From what time do they recite (קורין) the Shema in the evening?” (Sonc. “... may one recite ...”). This is of course to do with the well-known feature of Mishnaic Hebrew tense system; see a discussion by M. Mishor, *The Tense System in Tannaitic Hebrew* [in Heb.], Ph.D. diss., Jerusalem 1983, pp. 264-66, 272-75.

I,E: “the usage derives from the order of the description of creation” (יליף מברייתו של עולם) — Sonc. “He learns [the precedence of the evening] from the account of the creation of the world”. N. should have added: [it seems to the Tannah], for obviously the interpretation is presented as that of the Tannah, not of the framer or redactor of the tractate. Otherwise what would יליף mean?

I,F: אי הכי דקתני is expanded, unnecessarily to my mind, into “If there [= these (?)] were the principal consideration, then let us take note of the formulation of the rules that occurs later on”, for which Sonc. “Why then does he teach in the sequel” is more than sufficient. This is only one of many examples of unwarranted verbosity.

II,A: "A master stated" (אמר מר). For this idiomatic formula used to introduce a subject previously touched upon, one definitely prefers Soncino's "The Master said" with the definite article of anaphoric force.

II,B: "So let the frame of the passage say" (לתני) — a rather obscure rendering for "Let him then say" (Sonc.).

II,D: "And lo, ...". The "lo" is surely out of place in a translation in contemporary American English.

II,E: "it has been taught on the Tannaite authority" (כדתניא) — N. could have been more specific, as what follows is a reference to a Baraita. Likewise in II,L "solved the problem by reference to a Tannaite teaching" for פשטו לה מברייתא is hardly acceptable.

II,G: "the setting of the sun is what is essential in permitting the priest to eat food", a translation which makes the sunset the necessary and sufficient condition, but is that so?

II,I: "When the sun comes [up the next day]" (ביאת אורו), sim. Sonc. "when the sun [of the next morning] appears". "The appearance of its light" or the like is preferable, as ביאת שמש cannot possibly mean *both* "sunrise" and "sunset".

II,L: "they went and solved" (הדר ופשטו); the use of "went" is rather quaint.

Whilst one thus sees that there is definitely scope for greater attention to philological details, and the format of the translation and its paraphrastic nature do not facilitate its use as work of reference, there is no doubt that it would make this Jewish classic far more accessible, intelligible and approachable than it has been up to now. The volume concludes with a subject index, mostly of personal names. On what principles certain names have been selected for inclusion, and others for exclusion, is not immediately apparent.

TAKAMITSU MURAOKA

Alviero Niccacci: *Sintassi del verbo ebraico nella prosa biblica classica*. Franciscan Printing Press: Jerusalem, 1986. Pp. 127. Price: US \$ 5.

This monograph is a stimulating study of the Biblical Hebrew "tense" system inspired by a recent Hebrew grammar of W. Schneider (1974, <sup>5</sup>1982) and Talstra's review articles of it (*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 1978, 1982). They advocate an approach known as text linguistics as applied by H. Weinrich to a study of tenses in some European languages in his *Tempus. Besprochene und erzählte Welt* (1964, <sup>3</sup>1977: Niccacci quotes from a 1978 Italian translation). N.'s study is not intended to be definitive, and yet the author believes that further reading of texts would not necessitate substantial modifications of his formulation (p. 6; § 139). His further disclaimer is that his study is primarily that of prose, the grammar of poetry being quite distinct, as he justly emphasises, although towards the end (pp. 114-18) he has a brief

section dealing with problems associated the usage of tenses in Hebrew poetry. Furthermore, N. does not deal with categories such as infinitive and imperative as such.

An insight gained by text linguistics enables one to make an important distinction between narration and discourse or comment in prose. In his 1969 doctoral dissertation the present reviewer also stressed the importance of dealing with questions of Hebrew word-order separately for each of these two categories plus that of legal texts.

The organisation and presentation of the materials is something of a problem. The hierarchy used is a Roman numeral in upper case to indicate chapter, followed by a letter of the alphabet in lower case enclosed within the brackets, an Arabic numeral within the brackets, and finally an Arabic numeral with a single bracket. Thus, unless one refers back to the Table of Contents, or one is reading the entire monograph at one sitting, to see on p. 36, for instance, a heading which reads

**33**    3) Una proposizione nominale semplice

does not easily enable the reader to place the paragraph within the structure of the monograph as a whole: it actually represents the lowest subsection of a subsection entitled (2) *way\*bi*, which in turn is a subsection entitled (a) *Inizio della narrazione* within Chapter V entitled *La narrazione ebraica*.

It is hoped that the following random observations highlight some of the more important aspects dealt with by the author.

§ 1. The general view as summarised by N. is a bit of oversimplification; most scholars are cognizant of the use of QATAL and YIQTOL for continuous past.

The author further stresses that his approach is synchronic (p. 5). However his synchronism appears to be too narrowly conceived. Even at that level one ought to differentiate between plain YIQTOL on the one hand and YIQTOL which is actually or potentially short on the other. The same applies to /qatalti/ and /(w\*)qatalti/ as manifestations of N.'s QATAL. N.'s verb morphology recognises only YIQTOL, WAYYIQTOL, W\*YIQTOL, QATAL and W\*QATAL. This is of course not to speak of cohortatives, energics etc.

§ 6. N. believes that the definition of nominal clause and verbal clause followed by indigenous Arab grammarians also suits Classical Hebrew better than the conventional one. As a result a sentence such as Gn 3.13 /hannāhās hišši'ani/ is analysed as complex nominal clause, and like every other nominal clause as defined by N., it indicates who is the subject, and not what the subject does. As can be seen from examples quoted by N. such as Jdg 6.8 /'ānōhi he'ēlēti 'eṯhem mimmiṣrayim/ rendered "Sono io che vi ho fatti salire dall'Egitto", he seems to think that the cleft sentence best brings out the force of such a structure. But there are countless examples where such an interpretation is not appropriate: e.g. Gn 31.38 /rḥēlēḥā



*w'izzeḥā lō' šikkēlu/*; Jdg 13.5 */mōrā lō' ya'āle 'al rō'sō/*; Ex 26.1 */whammiškān ta'āše 'ešer yri'ōt/*, cited by N. (p. 52) but rendered “la Dimora la farai con dieci cortine” (note the second *la*). Incidentally the noun phrase thus understood would rather represent predicate, and not subject. One also wonders how such a dichotomy can handle cases such as Gn 7.19 */whamayim gāvru m'ōd m'ōd/* as against 7.20 */ḥāmēš 'ešrē 'ammā milma'lā gāvru hammāyim/*. Besides, a large proportion of nominal clauses does *not* indicate who the subject is. Nor has N. expressed himself on the question whether the participle is to be considered verbal or nominal in this regard.

§§ 7-9. N. stresses that, contrary to the prevalent view, QATAL is not a narrative tense, which WAYYIQTOL is. The former, which can appear in both narrative and discourse, indicates a motive or preceding circumstance, esp. preceded by */ki/*, */āšer/* etc. In one of the illustrative examples adduced by N., however, one finds it somewhat difficult to see why Gn 4.3 */wayyāvē' qayin mippri hā'ādāmā/* is narrative, whilst 4.4 */whevel hēvi' gam hu' mibbhōrōt šō'nō umēḥelvēhen/* is said to be a comment or annotation (*commentare*). Likewise ib. 4.4b */wayyiša' yhwh 'el hevel w'el minhātō/* and 5 */w'el qayin w'el minhātō lō' šā'ā/*. See also ib. 4.3 */wayhi hevel rō'ē šō'n wqayin hāyā 'ōvēd 'ādāmā/*. As N. himself correctly notes, the word order has been reversed in order to bring out the contrast between the two brothers, but that does not alter the fact that both statements are part of the narrative; they are not even what N. terms *discorso narrativo* (§§ 74-78). These cases differ from a reason, explanation or background information supplied by the narrator. Similarly the use of QATAL or YIQTOL following the sequence WAYYIQTOL or wQATAL respectively and the negative is better explained in the traditional way. This of course contradicts N.'s position that QATAL is not a narrative form (§ 147). All this seems to suggest that, notwithstanding the insistence of the text linguistics that one needs to look at a unit larger than even a sentence, it is still possible to proceed on the assumption that a given tense has a certain value on its own.

§ 17. Quoting Joüon (*Grammaire*, § 118c), who writes that normally a narrative begins with QATAL, N. categorically denies that such is the case, although the former adduces, in the paragraph referred to by N., some valid examples such as Gn 4.1 */whā'ādām yāda' 'et ḥawwā wattahar wattēled .../*, which is hardly a case of “antefatto” (so N. in § 19), unlike in Gn 3.1 */whannāḥāš hāyā 'ārum .../*. Furthermore, one wonders what of substance would be gained by excluding from a discussion in this regard innumerable examples of *discorso narrativo* such as Jdg 6.8f. */ānōḥi he'ēlēti 'eṭhem mimmišrayim wā'ōši' .../*. These reinforce Joüon's conviction, *pace* N., that WAYYIQTOL is essentially a continuative, i.e. non-initial tense form, even synchronically speaking. An apparent opposition as in 2Sm 12.26 */wayyillāḥem yō'āv ... wayyilkōd/* (narrative) and vs. 27 */nilḥamti ...*

gam lāḥadti/ (discourse) does not support the thesis that WAYYIQTOL is characteristic of narrative and QATAL of discourse. But for /gam/ we would have found /wāʾelkōd/ or /wāʾelkdā/, just as in Jdg 6.8f quoted above, and one can hardly claim that in reporting a past event in direct speech the use of /gam/ is obligatory. The same criticism applies to all the remaining examples cited in §§ 23-24.

§ 27. As a consequence of N.'s general thesis he has to distinguish between true and proper narrative and improper narrative. Thus the syntagm WAW-x-QATAL is said to furnish "informazione recuperata" because it serves as an antecedent to the narrative that follows, as illustrated by 1Sm 28.3 /ušmuʿēl mēt ... wšāʾul hēsir hāʾōvōt.../ where the proper narrative is said to commence in v.4 /wayyiqqāvšu plištīm/. For N. the temporal value of QATAL, i.e. pluperfect (in terms of translation into European languages, of course) is atypical. However, if one assigns basically preterital value to both QATAL and YIQTOL in the syntagm WAYYIQTOL, then the QATAL which is translatable with the pluperfect can be reduced to a variation of the preterite simply by shifting the point into the past from which one views the event concerned, and such a clause can be said to indicate a circumstance that had resulted from a previous event and prevailed at a certain point in the past. It is interesting to note that such a pluperfective QATAL occurs in the syntagm WAW-x-QATAL, in which the "x" is often the subject, and this agrees with the common word-order pattern shown by the so-called circumstantial clause, which also serves to indicate a contemporaneous circumstance prevailing at the time indicated by the main verb; for details, see §§ 40-45, and S.R. Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew* etc. (Oxford, 1892), pp. 200f.; incidentally, N. makes no use of this most important contribution to the problem of the Hebrew tense system, for though a growing number of scholars, the present reviewer included and most recently A.F. Rainey in *Orientalia*, 56 (1987) 394, 396-99, and N. § 133, are rather unhappy about Driver's aspect theory, it is a fact that his treatise is the only one that has attempted to demonstrate that a certain approach can adequately deal with all Old Testament examples, which is significantly different from constructing a model and trying to show its validity by citing a small number of examples. Driver's index of biblical passages lists over 2,800 examples, whilst N.'s has about 250, though the former, true, deals with some other syntactical questions as well.

§ 41. All the examples can be easily, and perhaps better, subsumed under § 42, so Joüon, § 118 *e*.

§ 46. One circumstance under which the WAYYIQTOL chain is broken is the shift to w<sup>c</sup>QATAL to indicate a repeated action. Unlike Driver and Joüon, however, N. does not specify that this Waw is consecutive — indeed N. does not make this important distinction between the consecutive

and conjunctive Waws prefixed to a QATAL — although, as Driver admits, “owing to the verbs being almost always [with an instructive exception in Jer 6.17 /wahāqimōtī/ mentioned by Driver himself on p. 144 — T.M.] in the third person, the crucial change of tone cannot take place” (p. 143). Such an assumption provides a neat explanation as to why YIQTOL is often found following or preceding such a w<sup>e</sup>QATAL, and Joüon (§ 119 x) rightly points to the functional analogy between QATAL with consecutive Waw and indicative, i.e. non-apocopated or non-jussive YIQTOL, both with future (-present) force. In an example adduced by N., Ex 18.25f. /wayyittēn ʾōtām rāʾšim ... wšāftu ʾet hāʾām ... ʾet haddāvār haqqāše yviʾun ʾel mōše wḥol haddāvār haqqāṭōn yišpuṭu hēm/ N. is unable to offer an adequate explanation for the switch to YIQTOL twice in vs. 26, dismissing it as minor. N. further notes that these frequentative forms provide a comment: “un commento riguardante il fatto narrato”, a distinction and dichotomy fundamental to his approach. Again one wonders why these also cannot be considered part of the narrative. Why is “azione unica” narrative, but “azione ripetuta” comment? In Chapter 7 the author appears to have come to the conclusion that the lines between narrative and discourse are often blurred, so much so that he is obliged to introduce a whole series of categories to deal with mixed types: “narrazione commentativa”, “discorso narrativo” and “commento narrativo”.

§§ 55, 61-63. That the YIQTOL in the syntagm Impv. + w<sup>e</sup>YIQTOL is jussive in force is not a discovery first made by Talstra, but it has been part of the common knowledge of Hebraists; see e.g. Joüon, § 116 d, e, where he speaks of indirect jussive. It has found its way even into elementary grammars, e.g. T.O. Lambdin, *Intr. to Bibl. Heb.* (London, 1973), § 107. Incidentally, H.M. Orlinsky is not concerned with the function or meaning of the syntagm in his often-quoted study “On the cohortative and jussive after an imperative or interjection in Biblical Hebrew”, *JQR* NS 31 (1940-41) 371-82, ib. 32 (1941-42) 191-205, 273-77. On this specific question N. has now published a study entitled “A neglected point of Hebrew syntax: Yiqtol and position in the sentence”, *Liber Annuus* 37 (1987) 7-19.

§ 57. Whilst N. is right in saying that in Ex 25.3 the sentence structure of /wzōʾt hattrumā ʾāšer tiqḥu mēʾittām/ is “emphatic” in the sense of being identificatory, this has nothing to do with his thesis that WAW-x-YIQTOL is “emphatic”, for /tiqḥu/ is embedded in the relative clause.

§ 58. Here one of the basic distinctions the text linguistics applies to biblical texts brings out in an illuminating fashion the contrast between a set of building instructions (Ex 26) and their executions (Ex 36), and the corresponding syntagmatic contrasts, likewise in § 59 (Ex 27 vs. Ex 38). However, it ought to be emphasised that this does not exhaust the whole range of functions of w<sup>e</sup>QATAL with converse Waw; from Joüon § 119 c one may note cases such as Am 9.3 /ʾāḥappēs ulqaḥtim/ (not an instruc-

tion); J1 4.18 /uma'yān yēšē' whiśqā/; Is 11.1 /wyāšā' (absolute beginning); the highly frequent /whāyā/.

§§ 74-78. N. examines, among other things, if there is any difference between the genuine narrative and a narrative embedded in direct speech, "discorso narrativo", arriving at the conclusion that there is none (pp. 69, 71).

§ 107. That N.'s sample is not broadly enough based is apparent from a comparison of his list of conditional sentence types with that of Joüon (§ 167 *b*).

§ 118. On a possible difference between w<sup>e</sup>QATAL and YIQTOL in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, see Joüon, § 176 *i*.

§§ 123-24. N. deals with the difficulty in distinguishing cases of casus pendens from those of complex nominal clause. The difficulty is a real one when one realises that N. sees (p. 88) casus pendens even in a case such as 2Ch 22.10 /wa'āṭalyāhu 'ēm 'aḥāzyāhu rā'ātā ki mēt bnāh/. N. also holds that the first noun phrase in Ex 35.25 /wḥol 'iššā ḥaḥmat lēv byādehā ṭāwu .../ is in casus pendens because of the following /byādehā/ (p. 97), an interpretation about which we have some reservations. In general, it seems to us that more advance can be expected by adhering to the traditional, more narrow definition of casus pendens as in Driver, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-74, and Joüon, § 156. Cf. now W. Groß, *Die Pendenskonstruktion im Biblischen Hebräisch* (St. Ottilien, 1987).

§ 134. N.'s proposition that the first word of a sentence is generally emphatic appears to us exaggerated even with the qualifying "in generale". One would need to operate with an extraordinary notion of emphasis, if every instance of WAYYIQTOL in the Old Testament, for instance, is to be considered emphatic.

§ 138. As regards N.'s criticism of the present reviewer's position as indicated in his *Emphatic Words and Structures in Bibl. Heb.* (Jerusalem/Leiden, 1985), it is precisely because the normal word-order in the great majority of verbal clauses with the consecutive Waw is by definition V-S, I decided to leave them out of consideration "as far as the relative order of S and V is concerned" (p. 29). On verbal clauses lacking consecutive Waw, N. writes: "non possono essere intesi come rappresentanti della proposizione verbale in quanto tale, ma appunto solo di quella discorsiva". When the deviation from the statistically normal pattern cannot be satisfactorily and neatly explained in terms of the three approaches characteristic of text linguistics, i.e. 1) "l'atteggiamento linguistico (commentare / narrare), 2) la prospettiva linguistica (informazione recuperata / grado zero / informazione anticipata), and 3) la messa in rilievo (primo piano / sfondo), one must search for a means to account for a contrast as displayed in a pair such as Gn 50.25 /pāqōd yifqōd 'ēlōhim 'eṭhem/ and ib. 24 /'ēlōhim pāqōd yifqōd 'eṭhem/. One is also curious to know how N.'s approach would handle the

use of the personal pronoun in verbal clauses as in Dt 5.24 /qrav 'at-tā... w'att tdabbēr/; cf. Chapter II, Personal Pronoun with Verbum Finitum in my monograph. One notes with interest, however, that N. uses a different category not belonging to the above-mentioned three-dimensional scheme of text linguistics: "invece nella stessa posizione il costruito x-QATAL non è narrativo ma 'enfatico'" (p. 110).

All in all the monograph deserves and repays careful study by anyone interested in this crux of Hebrew (and Semitic) syntax; it addresses well-known and time-honoured issues with a fresh approach, which necessitates, among other things, reformulation of known and more or less generally agreed rules or "laws" of Classical Hebrew grammar, and raises some new and important questions.

TAKAMITSU MURAOKA

Thomas J. O'Shaughnessy S.J. *Eschatological Themes in the Qur'an*. Cardinal Bea Studies, Loyola School of Theology, Ateneo de Manila University, 1986. Pp. viii + 141.

This short book is the product of detailed, painstaking work of the kind that is characteristic of Fr O'Shaughnessy's earlier studies on the Qur'an. It is based on a meticulous analysis of all the passages of the Qur'an which have to do with eschatological themes. In particular, he deals with the Throne, as an Eschatological Symbol (Chapter II); the Splitting of Heaven Heraldng the Last Judgement (Chapter III) and the Descriptive Names for Hell, and their Development under Criticism (Chapter IV).

O'Shaughnessy's great service is in the way in which he brings together all the Qur'anic data relevant to the theme that he wishes to discuss. It makes this book, like his earlier study, *Creation and the Teaching of the Qur'an* (Biblical Institute Press, Rome, 1985), a convenient and comprehensive reference work for the topic to which it is addressed, whether one accepts his methodology or not. Yet his concern is not simply to compile data, but to make the Qur'an speak to us. It is to this end that he brings together references to what may be called the antecedents of the Qur'an, particularly those deriving from the Judaic and Syriac traditions, and attempts to discover a line of development in the concepts and ideas which have a central place in Qur'anic teaching. He relates this development to the experience of Muhammad in proclaiming himself a prophet, to the germination of the ideas in his mind, and their enrichment and modification in response to the reactions his preaching aroused in the course of his career. O'Shaughnessy's concern is to uncover a human dimension to Muhammad's acceptance of his vocation as a prophet: how he preached, how he reacted to criticism, how he reformulated and strengthened the message. He sees him as a man at pains to come to terms with his mission, seeking his way in understanding it, and expressing its imperatives.

O'Shaughnessy's approach is demonstrated in his treatment of the descriptive names for hell that he discusses in chapter 4, *Jahīm*, *Sa'ir*, *Jahannam*, *Laḡā*, *Saqar* and *Ḥuṭama*. His treatment of *jahīm* is sufficiently illustrative of his methodology, and the results it yields. He lists every occurrence of the term in the Qur'an and distributes these occurrences over the four periods into which the revelation of the Qur'an is divided by European scholars (p. 54). On the basis of the frequency of distribution of the term over these periods, he comes to the following conclusions (pp. 57-60):

- i) that *jahīm* is an Arabic approximation of the Ethiopic *gabannam*;
- ii) that Muhammad was ridiculed for his corrupt pronunciation of a foreign word;
- iii) as a consequence of this ridicule he introduces other terms for hell into the Qur'an;
- iv) the frequency of occurrence of the word *jahīm* therefore decreases and after the early Meccan period disappears;
- v) it remains absent during the 3rd Meccan period, a time when Muhammad was seeking to conciliate Jews and Christians;
- vi) it re-appears however in the Medinan period when rejection by the Jews drove Muhammad back to the Arabian foundation of his early preaching and his use of *jahīm*, the arabized form of *gabannam*. (The shifting of the qiblat from Jerusalem to Mecca [sura 2 (al-Baqarah): 144 is attributed to a similar motivation).

The reconstruction is interesting. It introduces plausible might-have-beens into the story of the compilation of the Qur'an, that in this case support generally held views among western scholars, based on other criteria concerning Muhammad's deteriorating relations with the Jews at Medina. In presenting his analysis and the conclusions he draws from them, O'Shaughnessy shows a keen awareness of what Wansbrough refers to as the title of his book *The Sectarian Milieu* (Oxford University Press 1978), although this work is not listed in the bibliography. But as in the case of Wansbrough's studies, the acceptability of the results is largely conditioned by the acceptability of the author's premises and his methodology. The book nevertheless deserves to be studied and reflected on with the same care that has gone into its preparation.

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